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ABSTRACT

This monograph, intended for a broad range of student affairs practitioners, provides eight papers on mid-level managers in higher education student affairs whose needs have perhaps been subsumed within other aspects of career tenure or career specialty. The following papers are included: "Defining Student Affairs Mid-management" by Robert B. Young; "Moving In, Out, Up, or Nowhere? The Mobility of Mid-managers" by Meg Benke and Carol S. Disque; "Mid-management Role Issues: Expectations, Conflicts and Ambiguities" by J. Roger Penn; "Press and Stress: A Comparative Study of Institutional Factors Affecting the Work of Mid-managers" by Janet White, Laura Webb, and Robert B. Young; "Through the Looking Glass: A Case Study of Perceptions of and about Mid-managers" by Frances Lucas; "Professional Development and Career Issues for Mid-managers" by D. Stanley Carpenter; "Professional Development Strategies" by William A. Bryan and Richard H. Mullendore; and "Making the Most of Mid-management" by Robert B. Young. Most of the chapters offer extensive references. (JB)

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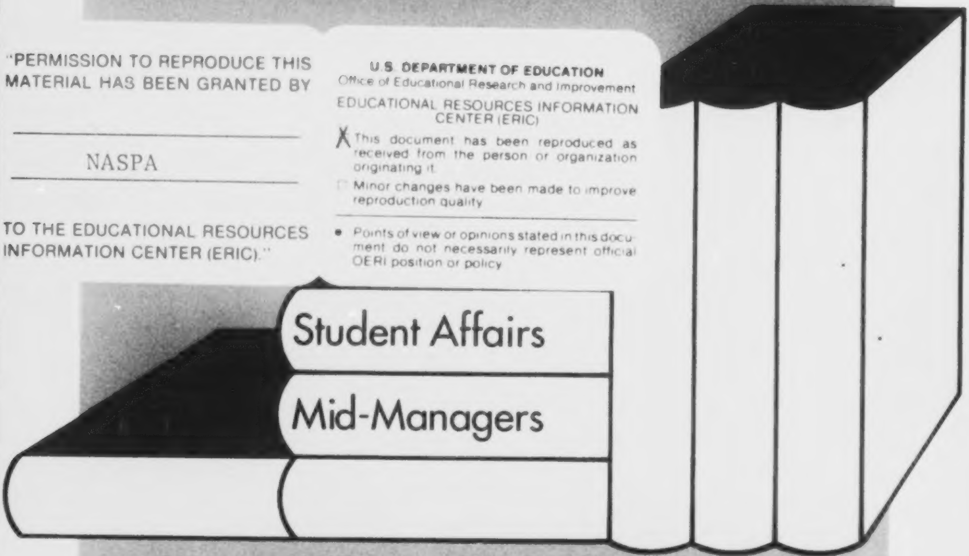

Student Affairs Mid-Managers

Edited by Robert B. Young

OCTOBER 1990

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National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

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Preface

It has been easier to choose the topic than the title of this monograph. The subject of mid-management has concerned me for many years. I've watched friends and students enter mid-managerial careers; some have found success as mid-managers, others have stagnated or stumbled within those careers. Some have left student affairs instead of going into mid-management. Why did some leave? How could they stay? How can all succeed?

Such questions are not answered by other publications in the field. Very little has been written about the success of student affairs mid-managers and few, if any, programs about this topic have been offered at recent national conferences of NASPA and ACPA. Instead, those conferences have focused on entry- and senior-level practitioners. At the conferences of most specialized organizations (e.g., American College Unions-International and the National Association Student Financial Aid Administrators), programs about mid-managers have seemed too insular; these programs have not related mid-management issues within a specific functional area to the full range of mid-managerial career issues within the profession. Perhaps mid-managers have not been ignored as much as their needs have been subsumed within other aspects of career tenure or career specialty. Regardless, there is a need to discuss those issues directly.

Despite the absence of national conference programs on mid-management, NASPA has always been interested in the professional progress of practitioners, and it has confirmed that interest through the sponsorship of this monograph and the first institute for mid-level managers in June 1990. Contributing authors were selected for their research abilities, professional experience, and scholarly insights, and we tried to put together a comprehensive monograph about mid-management issues. We tried to select topics that would appeal to a broad range of student affairs practitioners: to entry-level professionals who were investigating their future, to CSAOs who needed insights about working with mid-managers, and primarily to the mid-managers themselves. We wanted to examine the whole of mid-management.

As Ruskin stated in *The Two Paths,* "Not only is there but one way of doing things rightly, but there is only way of seeing them, and that is seeing the whole of them." This task was made easier and more difficult by the absence of literature about mid-managers. Few authors have provided research information that could help the contributors to see the whole of mid-management. We were left to our own devices about a comprehensive set of topics about student affairs mid-managers.

And what about a title? Something catchy would help to reflect the whole of the chapters and to get people to read the monograph. Alliteration always helps: "Success, Stagnation, and Stumbling Blocks in Mid-management," there's a title; or, "Making the Most of Mid-management," there's another one. Both of those titles seemed too contrived, like bad imitations of the titles of J.P. Donleavy novels.

Although the literature about mid-management is limited in number and depth, the titles of many of the available books and articles are interesting because they contain metaphors about mid-managers. The initiator of this tradition must have been Robert Scott, whose 1978 *Lords, Squires, and Yeomen* has been the bellwether of studies of mid-managers in higher education. Other metaphors for mid-managers are offered in Chapter 1.

While considering the title of this monograph, images such as the "silent majority" and "unknown soldiers" came to mind. Yet mid-managers are neither pawns of 1968 politics nor military "grunts." They may have been ignored but they have not been mute, and they rank at least as sergeants instead of privates in the army of student affairs.

The chapters yielded at least one esoteric image of mid-management. Student affairs mid-managers were, perhaps, smiling Buddhas: more content than the managers Scott had described yet still having to "wait, think, and fast" in order to succeed in their careers. That was heady imagery, but hardly the stuff of which student affairs book titles are made.

These images lacked something else, something that is introduced in Chapter 7 and that conveys more of the substance than the style of mid-management. In Chapter 7, Bryan and Mullendore say repeatedly that they want mid-managers to think of themselves as leaders. In the vernacular of the day, that means more than doing things right (managing); it means doing the right thing (leading). Mid-managers are leaders within their institutions and they are often the leaders of professional associations. Something of their leadership should be conveyed in the title of this monograph.

The issue was settled. Here were the invisible leaders of the profession and the title of this monograph should convey both of those attributes of mid-managers. The authors of the chapters have tried to help mid-managers become more visible within the profession. They have shared insights and research about the characteristics and concerns of student affairs mid-managers, and they have shared these characteristics and concerns within a context of caring. They want to help mid-managers "do the right thing" so they can improve their professional well-being and their leadership in their institutions and in associations.

In addition to the authors, the following people need to be thanked. First, George Kuh, editor of the NASPA Monograph Series, was a gracious and diligent resource to me and the authors. His stewardship of the monograph deserves special praise. Second, the members of the NASPA Editorial Monograph Board—Dana Burnett, Carmen Jordan-Cox, Herman Kissiah, Daryl Smith, Deb Hunter, Rodger Summers, Michael Jackson, and Elizabeth Whitt—are thanked for the conscientious advice they gave to the authors. I also want to thank Pam O'Brien for her skillful work on preparing the chapters and LuAnn Linson Coldwell who was rudely introduced to doctoral study by reading and rereading several drafts of each chapter. Finally, I want to thank every mid-manager who reads this monograph. The authors and I are grateful for your contributions to the field. We hope that we have, in some small way, added to the positive visibility of your leadership on our campuses and within our professional associations.

Robert B. Young

Chapter 1

Defining Student Affairs Mid-management

Robert B. Young

Mid-management is one of the most important yet least respected levels of student affairs administration. In Carpenter's (1980) model of the career development of student affairs administrators, mid-management is where administrators develop (or fail to develop) career commitment and generativity. Mid-management is the level of administration where careers take off or fizzle, where they diverge in the yellow woods heading toward the top of the mountain or into the underbrush. Some professionals hesitate to enter mid-management, others hate to leave it, and still others quit mid-management positions for senior positions inside and outside higher education.

Mid-management might also be the Rodney Dangerfield of student affairs administration: "It don't get no respect." The needs of mid-managers are ignored at the conferences of general associations such as the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) where more programs are identified for chief student affairs officers (CSAOs) and new professionals than for department heads. Mid-managers are not featured in the journals of those associations either. For example, the 1963–88 Index Edition of the *NASPA Journal* (Gordon, 1988) identified only one article dealing specifically with a mid-manager issue but 55 articles dealing with specific CSAO issues.

This disinterest in mid-management is not limited to student affairs administration. Mid-management is also overlooked in the study of general higher education administration. Aside from the seminal work of Scott (1978) and extensive research by Sagaria (1987) and Austin (1984a), research about mid-managers is not frequently undertaken. This monograph attempts to correct this oversight by providing information about mid-managers within student affairs.

Parallels to Mid-life Psychology

Interest in the study of mid-management might parallel interest in the study of the psychology of middle age. During the 1950s, child psychology books informed American parents about rearing their postwar babies. Adolescence was primary in the 1960s, and middle age has been a major field of study since the late 1970s as many Americans entered this time of life. The publication of *Passages* (Sheehy, 1976) and *Seasons of a Man's Life* (Levinson & Associates, 1978) coincided with the adulthood of the baby boomers. Paul Simon might not have sold as many copies of "Graceland" if he hadn't been joined by many other Americans who wondered why they were "soft in the middle" when the rest of their lives was hard.

The demography of student affairs administrators follows to some extent the demography of the nation. Many student affairs administrators should be in the middle of their careers, at middle levels of management. And, if middle age is the time when we begin to count our years until death instead of our years from birth, then mid-management should be that place where we think about the end of our careers as much as our initiation to the field. Student affairs mid-management is a level of administration where the culmination of professional accomplishments might be considered as often as professional growth.

Before middle age was studied in depth, it was simply a mass of years between birth and death. Levinson et al. (1978) divided middle age into seasons, which did not satisfy all scholars. For example, Schlossberg (1987) viewed middle age as a time of transitions in work and love that are based on individual circumstances more than chronology. Similarly, mid-management in student affairs is a mass of positions between the first and last jobs in student affairs work. Perhaps this mass should be subdivided into several levels or viewed as a series of events, opportunities for professional mobility or stagnation, rather than a discrete level of work. The remainder of this chapter explores such possibilities in determining a working definition of mid-management.

Adult psychology also teaches us that any definition concerning adults should not be encased in concrete, chipped and chiseled into permanent form. Middle-aged people are changing all the time. Mid-managers are changing, too. They are always aging and often growing in their careers and in the rest of their lives. A static definition of their jobs will not capture a sense of motion of their careers in, out, up, or down. Individual jobs must be seen with a developmental context of lives. The remaining chapters in this monograph deal as much with that developmental human context as with the specificities of mid-management, while the remaining portion of this chapter is devoted to an examination of the denotations and connotations of the term mid-management in student affairs work.

The Difficulty of Defining Mid-management

My tenth-grade biology teacher started every class with two words, "Be specific"—her personal credo and a warning to all dissectors of frogs and peerers through microscopes. "Be specific" is second cousin to "Define your terms," another warning to all would-be scientists, and this monograph attempts to define its terms before dissecting mid-management to examine it under the microscope.

But specificity about mid-management is difficult. As Goss (1984) said, mid-management has "no exact limits" (p. 36). Forbes (1984) contended that the "mid-management position (in student affairs) is a role in transition" (p. 37). Thus, despite the importance of mid-management in student affairs, it is not easy to provide a precise and stable definition of the area. Any definition at the outset of this monograph must be tentative, a prototype rather than a finished product. Such a definition suggests, more than reveals, the substance of mid-management. The remainder of this chapter concerns the facts and opinions that affect our definition and understanding of the term mid-management.

Just the Facts

Two components should be considered in creating a definition of mid-management: the denotations or facts, and the connotations or opinions about mid-management. While exploring the facts or denotations of the term, it is a common convention to use the journalistic "w" questions—Where, What, Who, When, and Why—to state the facts of a phenomenon. Some of that convention is pertinent to student affairs mid-management, particularly the questions of Where? and What? that focus on the level and form of administrative functioning.

Where?

Mid-management denotes a level of professional employment, i.e., where the work takes place within the organizational hierarchy. Austin (1984a) defined higher education mid-managers as "directors and deans of support services as well as other administrators to whom assistants report. . . [They] link vertical and horizontal levels of their organizations and interact with diverse constituencies—senior administrators, faculty, students, alumni, parents, and trustees" (p. 3).

In this definition, the chief student affairs officer (CSAO) could be considered an institutional mid-manager if the CSAO does not have cabinet rank. Such a CSAO would still be the senior student affairs manager and excluded from a central role in this monograph. Still, it would seem that the CSAO must have cabinet rank if his or her staff are to be perceived as institutional mid-managers by academic or business affairs administrators. Administrative rank within an institution trickles down from the rank of the chief officer of a unit.

Within student affairs, Kraus (1983) included directors, assistant directors, registrars, a "host of assistant and associate deans and vice presidents" and many "assistant to" types of personnel (p. 29) as mid-managers. This plethora of titles is affirmed by the authors in Chapter 4 of this monograph. Some of these titles might genuinely denote mid-management while others might enhance or cloak the status of staff and functional areas. They do not provide much information about the middle positions within the hierarchy of student affairs management. It seems necessary to examine the characteristics of the work of these managers, the What of their work to know more about student affairs mid-management.

What?

If mid-management indicates a location of work within the hierarchy of an institution or division, then mid-management indicates what the person does. Mid-management is a form of administration, not counseling or instruction, although it might include aspects of those roles. In Chapter 3 of this monograph, Penn defines mid-management as "those administrative staff who do not function as part of the institution's executive leadership but who do, as a part of their primary duties, supervise other staff and manage various programs." This is useful because this definition distinguishes certain tasks of mid-managers in student affairs work.

One critical component of Penn's definition in Chapter 3 is the management of staff instead of the management of students. Forbes (1984) might agree with Penn. She stated there is general agreement that mid-managers are the people between the first level of supervisors and the top executive or vice president. Mid-managers might be distinguished by their management of staff, rather than students or other managers. Entry-level and senior-level administrators might manage those latter groups, respectively.

Penn's definition in Chapter 3 emphasizes two role tasks for mid-managers: the supervision of staff and the administration of programs. He does not specify the programs that are managed, but Forbes (1984) indicated that general program leadership is more characteristic of mid-management than specific program direction. She stated that mid-managers have "special professional expertise" (p. 37), but Forbes charged that their work is in transition from an emphasis on such expertise to an emphasis on general management. In other words, the direction of the functions of a particular program area is giving way to the direction of multiple program areas. The specialist administrator is becoming a student affairs generalist.

This transition during mid-management to general program administration might be important since specialization is found at the bottom of the squat, organizational pyramid of higher education (Scott, 1978) and generalized leadership is found at the top. Experience in the management of several functional areas might be a springboard to the top of that pyramid, thus it might be appropriate to limit the label of student affairs mid-manager to those who oversee the operations of more than one department or program.

But student affairs work does not seem to fit that distinction because specialized function directors are included among student affairs mid-managers. For example, Forbes (1984) included the directors and associate directors of counseling, career development, residential life, women's centers, financial aid, student centers, educational opportunity programs, and admissions offices in her list of mid-managers.

Why not limit a definition of mid-managers to those who supervise staff, bypassing discussions about single or multiple program management? The supervision of professional staff seems to be a crucial distinction between entry-level administrators and mid-managers, but such a limitation might exclude some managers of one-person functional areas. In many small colleges, mid-managers supervise one or more functions with no professional staff reporting to them. For example, the *Vermont State Student Personnel Directory* (1983) listed 15 small colleges in which one staff member directs two or more student affairs functions and 10 colleges in which two or more staff members have multiple directorships. These staff deserve a mid-management designation as much as the assistant director of a large functional area. Thus a consideration of what a mid-manager does might be modified to include the management of staff and/or the management of one or more student affairs functional areas.

Closer examination of their management tasks and skills might differentiate mid-managers, entry level, and senior staff in other ways. For example, it can be argued that mid-managers interpret institutional policies and implement top management decisions, but they do not create them (Scott, 1978). They might have executive input only in subunits that are related to student affairs. This seems to locate mid-managers within the hierarchy of the institution, and, at the same time, it describes their professional role responsibilities. Chapters 3 and 4 of this monograph provide further information about the tasks and roles of mid-managers in different types of institutions, in some ways refuting the notion that mid-managers do not influence the development of institutional policy.

Who?

A discussion of the characteristics of mid-managers illuminates the nature of the work of mid-management. However, few studies provide generalizable data about student affairs mid-managers. Sagaria (1987) charged that research about a few administrative specialties is over-generalized to all middle-level administrators. The characteristics of admissions officers might not pertain to career services administrators, much less to all student affairs mid-managers. Conversely, inferences from general student affairs trends might not be useful to some admissions officers or career services administrators.

Keeping the caveat about generalizability in mind, following is a brief discussion of some data about the age, gender, race, and salaries of student affairs mid-managers.

Age. Earlier in this chapter, the parallel was drawn between middle age and mid-management, as if the two coincided in a person's life. Sometimes they do. Forty-one percent of all admissions directors are between the ages of 31 and 40; 30 percent are between the ages of 41 and 50 (Chapman & Benati, 1986). These findings are consistent with those in studies of mid-managers outside higher education (Evans & Bossert, 1983).

Sex. Data about the sex of mid-managers seem important for at least three reasons. First, most female mid-managers in higher education might be in student affairs (Jones, 1987); information about their employment provides information about affirmative hiring in all of higher education.

Second, the attrition of more women than men from the field (Holmes, Verrier & Chisholm, 1983) might be related to the numbers of opportunities that are available for women in mid-management positions. Student affairs might be losing some of its best and brightest talent because it is not providing sufficient opportunities for the promotion of female professionals.

Finally, an overall increase in the numbers of female CSAOs (Rickard, 1985) might be connected to the success of female mid-managers. Information about their success could be helpful to others who aspire to chief student affairs officer positions.

Race. Six percent of all admissions directors are minorities (Chapman & Benati, 1986), a percentage which is lower than the percentage of minority CSAOs (11 percent, reported by Rickard, 1985). One might conclude that minority mid-managers are found in greater numbers in other student affairs functions, or that some minority CSAOs do not rise through the ranks of student affairs mid-managers. However, such conclusions need to be substantiated through the gathering of more data about minority mid-managers.

Salaries. The 1988 median salaries of administrators show that student affairs directors and associate directors make less than their counterparts in administrative and external affairs offices (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 9, 1988, and April 13, 1988). Women mid-managers might make less than their male counterparts, perhaps 12 to 25 percent less (Chapman & Wagner, 1986), if information about admissions officers is generalizable to the entire field.

Connotations of Mid-management

In his benchmark study, Scott (1978) called mid-managers "lords, squires, and yeomen" to represent "a conceptual model for understanding the roles and prospects of collegiate mid-managers . . . in a center of a status hierarchy with limited mobility" (p. 1). In another article on the subject, Scott (1979) urged mid-managers to be "reinsmen" not "robots," and he added that they were "servants" to students or faculty and "policemen" of institutional procedures. Metaphors for mid-management abound, sometimes as unflattering animal images. For example, Tucker and Bryan (1988) said that academic deans could be doves, dragons, and diplomats. Kraus (1983) asked if mid-management in higher education were "a dog's life?" And a friend, an associate dean in a business college, has told me that an associate dean is a mouse in training to become a rat. Such images can have emotional power, delineating and sometimes demeaning mid-management through metaphor. We laugh when Rodney Dangerfield says, "I don't get no respect," but we hurt a bit, too.

The emotional power of the metaphors and opinions about mid-managers is important to probe, and synectics is a method that involves metaphors in problem solving. Synectics can be used to explore the underlying cultural understanding of terms, in this case, the nature of student affairs mid-management in the culture of higher education. Synectics relates to ideology, that system of underlying beliefs that motivates a group to action. Ideology is critical to the understanding of any culture or subcultural groups such as mid-managers. McAleenan (1984) suggested that the culture of every corporate department has its heroes and managers, its gossips, storytellers, priests, and whisperers. The remainder of this monograph examines similar images of the work of mid-managers within the context of higher education. The information in subsequent chapters explores the connotations as well as the denotations of the meaning of the mid-manager in student affairs work. The information is offered in a context of personal development and professional culture, with helpful advice for mid-managers so that their effectiveness "in the center of a status hierarchy" (Scott, 1978, p. 1) will not be as limited as the images of lords, squires, and yeomen suggest. Rather it will shine through as leadership, no longer invisible, within our institutions and our professions.

An Overview

In summary, the mid-manager in student affairs work is defined temporarily as one who manages professional staff and/or one or more student affairs functional areas. This definition is used in the following chapters but it does not capture the personal development nor the cultural context of the real people who serve as student affairs mid-managers. The chapters that follow will provide more information about that development and context.

Chapter 2 deals with the mobility of mid-managers. Benke and Disque review the employment of mid-managers, their longevity, promotion within a specialty area, horizontal mobility to other directorships, upward mobility, and the implications of immobility for their professional work. Race and sex data are related to this discussion.

In Chapter 3, Penn discusses the role responsibilities, ambiguities, and conflicts of mid-managers. He examines the diverse role expectations of student affairs mid-managers as counselors, educators, and administrators. Penn investigates the ambiguities that characterize the mid-manager's work.

In Chapter 4, Webb, White, and Young examine the job responsibilities and satisfactions of mid-managers in different types of colleges. They provide information from a survey about the roles and job satisfactions of mid-managers in different types of colleges and universities in Ohio.

Chapter 5 focuses on the perceptions about the mid-managers in one institution, Baldwin-Wallace College. Lucas offers the results of a survey and in-depth interviews with student affairs mid-managers, faculty, students, and other administrators.

In Chapter 6, Carpenter traces professional development issues in the literature and relates these issues to student affairs mid-management. He focuses on the mentoring process as a means for professional development, redefining "mentoring" to mean sharing and networking. Finally, he looks at the interaction between professional and personal growth, admonishing readers to take care of both.

Chapter 7 is written in a different style than the other chapters of this monograph. Speaking in a direct, conversational tone with mid-managers, authors Bryan and Mullendore examine the goals, constraints, and outcomes of involvement in professional associations (state, regional and national), institutional staff development programs, and doctoral study. Based on their extensive experience and references from pertinent literature, they provide a framework that enables mid-managers to blend personal and professional growth.

The final chapter compares the findings in the other chapters to those in a seminal work about mid-managers in higher education, *Lords, Squires, and Yeomen* (Scott, 1978). This chapter explores the unique aspects of mid-management in student affairs, and it concludes with a discussion of the implications of the development of mid-managers for the future of student affairs work.

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Chapter 2

Moving In, Out, Up, or Nowhere? The Mobility of Mid-managers

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The following comments were overheard on a campus one day. The chief student affairs officer said, "My managers leave too quickly. I'm spending all my money on job training, only to have them leave this place as soon as they get good at their work." An admissions counselor told a residence hall director, "Everyone at the top has been here too long. If they knew what was good for them and for the students, they'd get up and leave." And the financial aid director bemoaned, "Where am I going with my life? Should I stay here or get away to get ahead?"

These comments might have been made on any campus. They reveal questions and opinions about mid-managerial mobility that should be compared to the results of research about that topic. This chapter provides such a comparison in the hope that it proves helpful both to institutional decision makers and individual career planners. In doing so, however, there are some limitations; specifically, research on the career paths of student affairs staff is sketchy, and on mid-managers, scarcer still. This lack of research attention, along with the variety of methods used by researchers, has yielded results that are generally noncumulative (Sagaria, 1988).

The paucity of research concerning mid-managers in student affairs work, and indeed in higher education, creates temptation to turn to research from business and industry for insight. However, many factors related to organizational structure and employment patterns in colleges and universities support the contention that career paths and mobility patterns among mid-managers are likely to be considerably different in higher education than in the business sector. Let's examine these factors.

The Higher Education Setting

Several writers have indicated that the structure and inherent complex nature of colleges and universities constrain the possible advancement of mid-managers (Austin & Gamson, 1983; Holmes, 1982; Miner & Estler, 1985; Scott, 1978). The traditional model of organizational structure, a pyramid with many positions at the base and gradual reduction of opportunities as one makes progress toward the peak, illustrates the problem. As Holmes (1982) noted, higher education institutions have little discernible hierarchy. That is, there are few intermediate levels between the base and the peak of the pyramid. In addition, clear upward lines or patterns of promotion and increased administrative responsibility, known as career ladders, are few within colleges in contrast with corporations of comparable size and complexity. These characteristics result in the phenomenon labeled by Kanter (1977) as deficient structure of opportunity; that is, there are few intermediate positions, compared to entry-level positions, for administrators who seek career advancement (Miner & Estler, 1985).

Employment practices and paths for growth and advancement are often ill-defined in higher education. The institutions themselves do not have organizational structure or position titles/descriptions in common; department heads might be labeled dean, director, or assistant or associate vice president. Amateurs, people in indirectly related fields such as government service or corporate management, are often chosen for leadership roles (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1978, p. 106).

Student affairs mid-managers are most often identified by a narrow functional specialty or content area (such as admissions, residence life, or activities) much as faculty are identified by their disciplinary specialties. For both faculty and middle-level administrators the expectation is low that career changes will span disciplines and content areas. In fact, it is not clear whether examination of mid-management should center on a single profession or labor market (that of student affairs mid-management) or a multitude of highly specialized labor markets (career planning, admission, financial aid, for example), each labor market having variations in supply/demand, requisite skills, and opportunity (see Chapter 3).

Sagaria (1988) reviewed the literature on mid-managers and concluded that there was sufficient similarity in the hiring and promotion processes to assume that student affairs mid-managers, no matter what their functional specialties might be, represent one labor market. McIntire and Carpenter (1981) reviewed hiring and candidate search procedures for student affairs positions at three levels of responsibility. They concluded, based on their survey of NASPA Region IV-West institutions, that many practices were consistent across institutions and position levels. Bloland and Moore (1982) focused specifically on the use of search committees for student affairs positions and discovered no clear pattern of search committee use for particular functions or position levels. Despite the Bloland and Moore finding of no consistency in search committee practices, the general operating assumption in existing research on student affairs mid-managers appears to be that they do in fact represent a single labor market with similarities in hiring practices and career paths.

The penchant of higher education institutions for hiring middle- and top-level managers from tangential fields has been highlighted by Baldridge et al. (1978), who referred to these administrators as "amateurs" (p. 106). Whether amateurs or professional student affairs administrators, many chief student affairs officers remain in their positions for longer periods than in the past, further limiting access for mid-managers. Paul and Hoover (1980) concluded that the mean number of years in a chief student affairs officer position in public institutions had doubled, to 8.7 years, from an earlier study by Brooks and Avila (cited in Paul & Hoover, 1980). Longevity in position of mid-management department heads was highlighted by Scott (1978), who summarized earlier research and concluded that the mobility of aspiring mid-managers was retarded by the longevity of department heads in their positions. As the length of time that department heads remain in their positions increases, the number of vacant jobs for aspiring mid-managers declines.

In summary, the relatively flat hierarchy of higher education institutions, their poorly defined career ladders, their focus on specialized functions, their attraction for amateurs in leadership roles, and the increasing longevity of both department heads and chief student affairs officers impose limits on the mobility of mid-managers.

Determinants of Career Patterns

In higher education institutions, career paths of individuals are determined by three simultaneously occurring factors: individual choice, institutional practices, and environmental conditions. Research approaches to these three factors are summarized in the following sections. Because research studies are few and the results of the existing studies seldom build on earlier work, the focus of this review is on methods, techniques, and perspectives for the study of student affairs mid-managers.

Individual Choice

Personal decisions to change career positions are based upon individual factors, i.e., skill level, age, education, job satisfaction, values, goals; perceptions of organizational conditions, i.e., policies, work conditions, job content, institutional values; and perceptions of economic factors, i.e., vacancy rates, recruiting levels (Mobley, 1982).

An examination of career mobility based on individual choice has proceeded on two fronts. One approach to researching mobility was to select a sample of successful individuals and to transcribe the process these individuals followed to reach positions as chief student affairs officers (Brooks & Avila, 1974;

Evans & Kuh, 1983; Grant & Foy, 1972; Kuh, Evans & Duke, 1983; Lawling, Moore & Groseth, 1982; Paul & Hoover, 1980; Rickard, 1985). This approach has a limited focus on a small percentage of student affairs professionals whose path was that of vertical mobility, not accounting for lateral mobility, accrual of responsibility, or movement out of the profession.

An alternative approach to research about individual career choices involved surveying middle-level administrators in higher education to gain an understanding of their careers and goals (Bess & Lodahl, 1969; Bogenschutz & Sagaria, 1988; Chapman & Urbach, 1984; Gross, 1978; Scott, 1978). For example, Bogenschutz and Sagaria (1988) studied the career goals of mid-managers in higher education, and concluded that career aspirations are influenced by planning style, field identity, personal factors, and career orientations (a modification of Schein's career anchors). Studies such as that of Bogenschutz and Sagaria (1988) have broadened the understanding of the variety of possible career paths and satisfaction levels of student affairs professionals.

Institutional Practices and Policies

Working concurrently with personal career decision making is the process of institutional choice, emerging from organizational structure, policies, hiring, and promotion. Through their policies and procedures, organizations help to shape the careers of the individuals in them (Sagaria, 1988). But for the work of Bogenschutz and Sagaria (1988), existing research on careers of student affairs staff has generally emphasized the institutional influence on careers rather than individual career choices and patterns. For example, Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) took the approach of examining position changes which are shaped by the employing institution. They proposed that higher education institutions are a singular labor market with uniform hiring and promotion patterns across institutions. That assumption allowed research to be conducted by examining position change rates. Other research methods have involved studying career paths of individuals at various levels of the organization or investigating mobility through changes in salary level or professional status/title.

Scrutiny of institutional practices has been attempted in several studies focusing on a comparison of the career paths of male and female staff members (Austin, 1985; Barrax, 1978; Gross, 1978; Moore & Sagaria, 1982; Rickard, 1985). These studies centered on the ramifications of affirmative action programs and attempted to determine whether bias still existed in hiring and promotion practices that would affect the mobility of men and women.

Environmental Conditions

The environmental factors which influence mobility include general economic conditions, supply and demand for a particular occupation, and world events which affect national and/or local economies. For example, Finkelstein (1984) documented a decline in the annual changes of the institutional affiliation of faculty from 8 percent in the mid-1960s to 1.4 percent in 1972. In 1979 only 1.7 percent of the scientists in doctorate-granting universities, generally considered among the most mobile faculty, changed jobs. The decline echoes the change from a growth economy for higher education in the 1960s to a steady state in the 1970s.

In student affairs research, the most studied environmental factor to date has been job market trends, including supply and demand, position changes, and turnover rates. Job market trends have been traced by examining directories of positions in higher education (Moore & Sagaria, 1982; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1988). Job market trends have been described also through analyzing conference placement records and position vacancy announcements (Armstrong, Campbell & Ostroth, 1978; Escott, 1976; Janasiewicz, 1983).

Career Patterns and Mid-management

A job change might take an individual up or down the organizational pyramid, across the pyramidal structure to a parallel position, or out of the organization. Each form of mobility is evident in student affairs work. In general, student affairs staff consider advancement to be important (Grant & Foy, 1972; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1988), and they expect to change positions.

Bender (1980) studied the job satisfaction and plans for change of a group of professionals who were employed at all levels of student affairs administration in NASPA Region II. She learned that 25 percent intended to leave not only their current positions, but the field of student affairs as well. Those under the age of 36 expressed greater likelihood of leaving. Among student affairs mid-managers, the expectation of mobility appears to be higher still. Scott (1978) reported that 30 percent of a group of financial aid directors planned to leave their positions. He concluded also that directors stay in one position for longer periods of time than assistants and associates, who change positions much more frequently. More than 60 percent of the admissions directors Chapman and Urbach (1984) studied indicated they would leave admissions within 10 years.

It is clear that many student affairs professionals expect to change jobs. Burns (1982), in a survey of student personnel graduates who remained in the field or left the field, concluded that 41 percent of each group expected to move into new divisions of their organization or into new organizations. But where do they move, and how?

Forms of Mobility

Mobility is traditionally construed as vertical, moving through positions with increasing status and complexity of responsibility to reach a top level administrative position. Vertical mobility might occur because of an individual's application for positions with higher status within a single institution or at other institutions. Scott (1978) identified "downgrade progression" as a particular form of vertical mobility among higher education mid-managers. Downgrade progression was described as advancement in title and responsibility through moving to a smaller or less prestigious institution (p. 17).

Another form of vertical mobility is promotion, that is, being selected by an institution to move to a position of higher status, title, and responsibility. By definition, promotion occurs within a single institution or institutional system. Rosenbaum (1979) described the promotion process as the opportunity to reward individuals and further institutional goals, and, at the same time, ". . . to be an effective control device for a large group of employees" (p. 23), encouraging motivation and enhancing job performance. This perspective was further highlighted by Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) who asserted that promotion serves an important role in retaining employees and advancing the goals of affirmative action.

Movement down the vertical hierarchy seldom occurs in higher education institutions. The most obvious cause is inadequate job performance by an individual; however, demotion can also result from administrative reorganization, often precipitated by changes in leadership at the top level of the institutional.

Lateral Mobility

Lateral mobility involves change to a position of comparable status, title, and complexity of responsibility. Lateral movement across institutions can benefit the individual in several ways. A change to a different size institution can offer a preferred span of control or quantity of responsibility. A change to an institution at a higher level of prestige can enhance the individual's prestige in the student affairs profession. Salary and benefits can be improved in a lateral move. Quality of life concerns such as family and leisure opportunities can be an incentive for a lateral move. Finally, a lateral move might enable a person to have more opportunity for vertical mobility in the new institution.

Lateral movement within an institution to another function or department can facilitate career development for the individual. Although job rotation across functional specialties is a sound management technique with benefits for both the institution (flexibility) and the individual (professional development), the narrow functional focus of colleges and universities is not conducive to its widespread use.

Lateral mobility is further inhibited by a phenomenon observed by Scott (1978), who concluded that the lack of opportunity for upward mobility caused increased specialization at lower and middle levels of the organization. Increasing the specialized nature of functional areas creates barriers to developing knowledge and skills which can be transferred to lateral positions.

Accrual Mobility

Miner and Estler (1985) identified "accrual mobility," another form of mobility in higher education (p. 121). According to these researchers, accrual mobility is characterized by an individual employee's accumulation of increased responsibility and knowledge to a level exceeding that which can be attributed to normal growth in a given position. The result is movement not into fixed positions but into previously nonexistent jobs. This movement might involve a change in title, salary, or in job description, with duties and responsibilities adapted specifically to the abilities and activities of the person. For example, a residence hall director develops special expertise in freshman programs, persuades his or her institution to develop an extended orientation program, and is appointed director of orientation.

Miner and Estler (1985) subsequently described the positive aspects of this type of mobility as the opportunity to more efficiently search for appropriate tasks to be accomplished and to link individual employee competencies with organizational tasks. They also maintained that this accrual mobility fosters employee initiative because employees help to define and develop their roles.

Nevertheless, negative aspects of accrual mobility have been identified by Miner and Estler (1985). Accrual changes may limit planning directly focused on problems to be solved. They may result in decentralizing organizational control over initiatives and goals. Finally, accrual changes may encourage "empire building" which would also subvert organizational goals (Miner & Estler, 1985).

Scott (1978) described two variations of accrual mobility. In one, growth in size and complexity of a function pushes the director of that unit up a "ladder of responsibility" (p. 16) marked by salary and/or status changes, although there is no change in relative position in the organizational hierarchy. For example, an admissions director takes responsibility for a broader marketing approach than existed previously and becomes dean of enrollment management. In the other variation, institutions use changes of title to reward exceptional performance by or longevity of a mid-manager. Higher status titles are awarded without accompanying changes in responsibility or function. For example, a unit director might be granted the title of dean without any changes in his or her responsibilities.

Attrition

Another form of position change which might be considered as mobility is for professionals to leave the field altogether. Studies of attrition from the student affairs field have not focused on the attrition of mid-managers. Attrition has been studied through surveys of graduates of student personnel preparation programs with varying results. Five or six years after student graduation, attrition rates have been reported to be 39 percent (Burns, 1982), 32 percent (Wood, Winston & Polkosnik, 1985), and 61 percent (Holmes, Verrier & Chisholm, 1983). Attrition rates after 10 years have been found to be greater for women than for men by Bender (1980), Burns (1982), and Holmes et al. (1983). However, Wood et al. (1985) observed that men and women left at the same rate. These preliminary results suggest a need to examine the reasons why student affairs staff leave the field.

Wood et al. (1985) compared student affairs staff who left higher education with those who remained in the field, and found that those who left placed greater emphasis on autonomy and geographical security than those remaining in higher education. Burns (1982) learned that those staying in the field valued such qualities as dedication, service, and independence, in contrast to those leaving who valued expertise, leadership, and advancement. She concluded that the predominant reasons for leaving were to relocate, to return to school, or because of lack of challenge in the field. Evans (1988), in a review of the literature on attrition from student affairs work, surmised that the most common reason for leaving the field was a perceived lack of opportunity for advancement because of limited career ladders, job competition, unclear paths, and the lack of a doctorate.

Student affairs mid-managers can develop and enhance their careers through several forms of mobility; they are not confined to the traditional choices of moving up (vertical) or moving out (attrition) of the field. Lateral mobility and accrual mobility offer options for mid-managers seeking career growth.

Entry to Mid-management

How do staff reach mid-management in student affairs? Conventional wisdom suggests they rise through the ranks in a particular functional specialty within one institution. The work of Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) supports that notion, suggesting that changes of position across functional areas in student affairs are rare for staff at or above the assistant director/dean level. Also, in their examination of position changes of line administrators in student affairs from 1969-70 to 1979-80, Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) observed that nearly twice as many student affairs administrators changed positions within their institutions as moved between institutions in 1979-80. Chapman and Urbach (1984) affirmed that college admissions directors achieved upward mobility through advancement in a single institution rather than through changing colleges.

Examination of the demographic profile of student affairs mid-managers reveals a numerical dominance of white males in these positions. Gross (1978) reviewed earlier demographic studies of student affairs mid-managers, revealing that at the director level, 67 percent to 91 percent were male, and at the staff level, 46 percent to 81 percent were male. Seventy-one percent of the male directors were married compared to 26 percent of the female directors. Only 6 percent to 11 percent of the directors were members of minority groups.

These observations raise questions about how career paths and mobility patterns might vary by sex or race. Little evidence exists concerning student affairs mid-managers, although Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) traced position changes and concluded that women changed positions more often than men. In a study of higher education mid-managers (not limited to student affairs), Moore and Sagaria (1982) established that women in line positions were more likely than men to be promoted within their institutions; however, men in staff positions were more likely than women to be promoted from within.

Data documenting the actual availability of mid-management positions are found in one analysis of 2,055 student personnel job listings in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* during the calendar year of 1980 (Janasiewicz, 1983). The job vacancy listings for mid-managers, defined as those with responsibility for one or more functional areas, constituted 32 percent of the student personnel positions advertised. Admissions and financial aid were the functional areas identified most frequently at the mid-management level. Results of the study must be interpreted with caution, as it is unclear whether *Chronicle* position vacancies reflect accurately the numbers and levels of positions available throughout the profession.

In summary, movement within institutions appears to be the most common route of entry to mid-management. There is reason to believe that mobility may occur differently for women than for men, and job vacancy listings reveal that about one-third of student affairs positions advertised in a national publication during a calendar year were for mid-manager positions.

Qualifications/Characteristics

What qualifications are needed for entry to mid-management?

Education. The master's degree is the predominant educational attainment at the mid-management level in student affairs. In an investigation which included position levels from assistant director to chief student affairs officer, Sagaria and Johnsrud (1988) concluded that 36 percent of the men and 26 percent of the women held doctorates. Chapman and Urbach's (1984) investigation of career paths of college admissions directors indicated that the majority held the master's degree, 20 percent held bachelor's degrees, and 18 percent had completed the doctorate.

Skills. Various skills in management and human relations have been identified as important to the expertise of student affairs staff members. Most investigations of the skills needed for student affairs work have focused on entry-level competencies (Newton & Richardson, 1976; Ostroth, 1981), chief student affairs officer competencies (Kinnick & Bollheimer, 1984; Lunsford, 1984), coursework needed in professional preparation programs (Council for the Advancement of Standards, 1986; Ostroth, 1975), or staff development needs (Cox & Ivy, 1984). Piper and Fullerton (1985) drew attention to the transition from entry-level to post-entry level positions. They asked post-entry level student affairs professionals to identify factors which prepared them to move from entry-level to post-entry level positions. Factors cited most frequently were decision-making and problem-solving skills, specific task knowledge, and individual professional philosophies.

In his Tentative Taxonomy of Student Development Staff Skills and Competencies, Hanson (1977) identified 195 skills and competencies. Although his work did not distinguish skills required at different levels of student affairs work, Hanson made an effort to identify the relative importance of the skills listed in the taxonomy as viewed by selected American College Personnel Association (ACPA) leaders. Twenty competencies were identified as "very important" by more than 70 percent of the ACPA leaders (see Table 1).

How might this list be different if the focus were solely on mid-managers? Disque and Benke (1989b) asked chief student affairs officers to identify skills essential for competent performance at the director level and then to identify skills critical for outstanding performance. The chief student affairs officers were also asked to complete separate skills checklists for directors of student service units such as admissions and registration and for directors of educational/developmental units such as counseling and student activities. The return rate for this survey of 100 midwestern institutions was low (approximately 40 percent) so the results are suggestive of skills critical to competent performance, not definitive.

Table 1
Competencies Identified as "Very Important" by More than 70% of ACPA Leaders

Goal Setting
- Assess student needs;
- Teach students to take responsibility for their decisions;
- Make appropriate referrals;
- Assist students to formulate realistic and attainable personal goals and objectives;
- Develop a sense of empathy for student needs;
- Reinforce appropriate student behavior in appropriate ways;
- Teach students to deal with the consequences of their behavior.

Consultation
- Use effective communication skills;
- Facilitate group problem solving and group decision making;
- Facilitate staff development through in-service training;
- Recognize and use expertise of others.

Milieu Management
- Establish priorities;
- Use effective communication skills;
- Collaborate with other faculty and staff;
- Be able to bridge the gap between theory and practice managing programs.

Instructional
- Make effective decisions.

Assessment
- Maintain student confidentiality;
- Communicate effectively on a one-to-one basis;
- Listen to students' perceptions of feelings.

Tables 2 and 3 summarize the skills identified most frequently as essential for competent performance in student service units and in educational/developmental units. The skills identified as essential for competent performance in student service units focus on management and supervision; the skills for competent performance in educational/developmental units focus upon student-oriented knowledge and activities.

When the same chief student affairs officers were asked what distinguishes outstanding performers at the director level from competent ones, the respondents' most frequent responses

Table 2
Ten Skills Most Frequently Identified by CSAOs as Essential for Competent Performance in Student Service Units

1. Establish priorities.
2. Promote effective teamwork.
3. Evaluate staff performance.
4. Write clear, concise memoranda and reports.
5. Display leadership skills.
6. Select, train and supervise staff.
7. Make effective decisions.
8. Establish rapport with administrative staff.
9. Formulate and manage a budget.
10. Performance appraisal.

Table 3
Ten Skills Most Frequently Identified by CSAOs as Essential for Competent Performance in Educational/Developmental Units

1. Knowledge of group dynamics.
2. Empathy for students.
3. Engage in collaborative efforts with other faculty and staff.
4. Interpret the special needs of racial and ethnic minorities.
5. Provide feedback to students regarding their progress toward accomplishing their goals.
6. Set goals.
7. Knowledge of college student development needs.
8. Knowledge of appraisal of the individual.
9. Knowledge of intervention change strategies.
10. Acceptance of personal differences.

yielded a different set of items. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the results for student service units and for educational/developmental units. Skills identified as essential for outstanding performance in student service units centered once again on management skills, although respondents cited a different set of skills than those considered necessary for competent performance. For educational/developmental units, the most frequently cited skills included both management and student-oriented items. The skills perceived to be essential for outstanding performance in both student service and educational/developmental units were "Maintain student confidentiality" and

Table 4
Ten Skills Most Frequently Identified by CSAOs as Essential for Outstanding Performance in Student Service Units

1. Be able to gain commitment from top decision.
2. Maintain student confidentiality.
3. Make effective decisions.
4. Make realistic conclusions and recommendations.
5. Tolerance for conflict.
6. Knowledge of principles of management.
7. Knowledge of principles of decision making.
8. Communicate effectively on a one-to-one basis.
9. Engage in systematic planning within the department or unit.
10. Recognize and use expertise of others.

Table 5
Ten Skills Most Frequently Identified by CSAOs as Essential for Outstanding Performance in Educational/Developmental Units

1. Empathy for students.
2. Display leadership skills.
3. Knowledge of intervention/change strategies.
4. Creativity.
5. Acceptance of personal differences.
6. Maintain student confidentiality.
7. Promote effective teamwork.
8. Teach students to take responsibility for their decisions.
9. Communicate effectively on a one-to-one basis.
10. Mediate conflicts between individuals and groups.

"Communicate effectively on a one-to-one basis." The contrast between responses for the two types of units is illustrated by the chief student affairs officers' selection of the items "Tolerance for conflict" in student service units, and the "Mediate conflicts between individuals and groups" for educational/developmental units.

In general, chief student affairs officers identified different competencies as essential for service directors compared to directors of educational/developmental units. They also made sharp distinctions between skills needed for competence and those associated with outstanding performance.

Advancement to Chief Student Affairs Officer

The position of chief student affairs officer (CSAO) is the most likely career goal of student affairs mid-managers who seek opportunities for vertical mobility. Because of the limited number of chief student affairs officer positions, mid-managers who aspire to these positions need to understand the career paths, skills, and qualifications of chief student affairs officers.

Paths

Despite the concern expressed by Baldridge et al. (1978) that higher education institutions generally hire amateurs, people without direct experience in an area, into top-level positions, this observation does not appear to be representative of student affairs. Kuh, Evans and Duke (1983) concluded that most chief student affairs officers held prior positions in the student affairs area. They noted also that chiefs were just as likely to come from staff positions as from director level line positions, that small school chief student affairs officers had longer prior careers in student affairs, and that larger institutions were more likely to promote from within than smaller institutions. Both Rickard (1985) and Evans and Kuh (1983) suggested that women were more likely than men to be appointed from within institutions. Studies of chiefs in the 1970s identified the proportion of women to be about 11 percent (Paul & Hoover, 1980).

In reporting the results of a 1984 survey of chief student affairs officers, Lunsford presented evidence that "a clear path to the position of CSAO emerged. The road to the position is paved by experience in student affairs administration above the functional director's level" (p. 53). This conclusion was based on the finding that 58 percent of the survey respondents held student affairs administrative positions with broad responsibilities rather than line responsibility for single functional areas or departments.

The research literature is inconclusive concerning the actual number of position vacancies at the chief student affairs officer level. Although Escott (1976), Armstrong et al. (1978), and Janasiewicz (1983) all examined this area, each used substantially different methods to determine the availability of chief student affairs officer positions.

Qualifications

Kuh, Evans and Duke's (1983) study revealed that 58 percent of all chief student affairs officers in NASPA Region IV-East held doctoral degrees and that 40 percent held the master's degree. In an earlier study limited to institutions with enrollment over 10,000, Paul and Hoover (1980) concluded that 82 percent of chief student affairs officers had earned doctoral degrees and the rest had earned the master's degree. Harder (1983), who studied members of the Southern Association of College Student Affairs, stated that the proportion of doctorate-holding chief student affairs officers varied by type of institution, from a high of 94 percent in large public institutions to a low of 48 percent in two-year institutions.

Skills. Chief student affairs officers were asked by Lunsford (1984) to identify the most important areas of knowledge for their roles. The five responses ranked highest were staff supervision, budget administration, conflict resolution and problem solving, student relations, and staffing and personnel administration. Kinnick and Bollheimer (1984) asked college presidents to rank key issues in student affairs and determine whether their chief student affairs officers possessed the skills to deal with those issues. The most frequently reported issues which chief student affairs officers did not have the perceived skills to address were: future enrollment, financial aid, and fiscal management.

In another study seeking the perceptions of presidents about chief student affairs officers, Disque and Benke (1989a) asked 100 college presidents in NASPA Region IV-East to identify the skills essential for "competent" and "outstanding" performance by chief student affairs officers. The response rate by presidents was 52 percent. There was substantial similarity in their views of the requisites for competent and for outstanding performance, as illustrated in Tables 6 and 7. When asked to comment about additional critical competencies, presidents most often cited

Table 6
Nine Skills Most Frequently Identified by Region IV—East College Presidents as Essential for Competent Performance by Chief Student Affairs Officers

1. Interact effectively with the administration, faculty, and staff in presenting the needs of students and student affairs in the decision making process.
2. Influence college policy decisions which impact, both directly and indirectly, students of the institution, personnel, and program resources within student affairs.
3. Analyze programs, services, and staff necessary to serve students.
4. Identify the needs of students.
5. Interpret policy decisions into language and forms which are understandable and disseminate this information to the entire college community.
6. Select the staff performing the programs and services.
7. Train the staff that perform the programs and services.
8. Supervise the staff that perform the programs and services.
9. Evaluate the staff that perform the programs and services.

Table 7
Nine Skills Most Frequently Identified by Region IV—East College Presidents as Essential for Outstanding Performance by Chief Student Affairs Officers

1. Interact effectively with the administration, faculty, and staff in presenting the needs of students and student affairs in the decision making process.
2. Influence college policy decisions which impact, both directly and indirectly, students of the institution, personnel, and program resources within student affairs.
3. Analyze programs, services, and staff necessary to serve students.
4. Identify the needs of students.
5. Select the staff performing the programs and services.
6. Supervise the staff that perform the programs and services.
7. Analyze the potential impact of impending policy issues upon existing program and personnel resources which are within the administrative jurisdiction of the chief student affairs officer.
8. Analyze the potential impact of pending issues upon the interests and needs of students of the institution.
9. Evaluate the staff that perform the programs and services.

"maintaining an institutional perspective" and "creativity" as essential for outstanding performance. The most frequently cited competencies in this study involved effective advocacy for students and diagnostic/analytical skills to develop programs and services; these results are in contrast to those of earlier studies (Kinnick & Bollheimer, 1984; Lunsford, 1984) which clearly identified management-related tasks.

Conclusion

The chapter has summarized existing research concerning the mobility of mid-managers in student affairs. Because the literature is sparse and the results are generally not cumulative, it is best used to suggest significant concepts and directions for further investigation. Descriptive surveys such as this review are responsive to questions of fact, What is?, but are nonresponsive to questions of value, What should be? The following conclusions suggest additional questions about What is? and What should be?

1. Several peculiarities of higher education institutions as organizations, including flat hierarchies, poorly articulated career ladders, narrow specializations, and longevity of staff in leadership roles, impede the mobility of student affairs mid-managers. What is the nature of the higher education labor market for mid-managers? Is it one or several highly specialized labor markets? What is the effect on mobility of variables related to organizational structure? To what degree should colleges and universities modify their structures to ensure appropriate levels of mobility?
2. Career patterns of mid-managers are determined by concurrent processes of individual choice and institutional practices, and by environmental conditions. What are the most influential factors in individuals' decision making about position change? What is the impact of background characteristics such as race and gender? What is the effect of particular institutional policies (such as affirmative action, professional leaves, hiring/search procedures, promotion) on the mobility of mid-managers? How do environmental factors affect indi-

viduals' choices and institutional policy with respect to mobility? What should be the type and level of institutional support for individual career development through mobility?

3. A large number of student affairs mid-managers expect to change positions in order to advance their careers. Mobility can take any of several forms; it is not limited to traditional upward, or vertical, mobility. What is the degree of relationship between mid-managers' actual mobility and their perceptions of their own mobility? What is the frequency of the various forms of mobility (vertical, lateral, accrual, and attritional)? What are the implications, for individuals and for institutions, of immobility? What should be the optimum rate of mobility of individual professionals to assure professional and/or personal development? What should be the optimum level of mobility from an institutional perspective? What is the ideal mobility from an institutional perspective? What is the ideal balance of hiring within and from outside the institution? To what degree should mobility be encouraged? What should be the role of job enrichment, job rotation, and other professional development opportunities in accelerating or retarding mobility of staff?
4. Research results are inconclusive about the most probable paths into student affairs mid-management positions. Although the master's degree is the predominant educational requirement, other qualifications such as essential skills are more difficult to identify. The difficulty of identifying essential skills persists for mid-managers seeking movement to chief student affairs positions. The doctorate is the dominant educational qualification; patterns of skills and prior experiences are not clear. What are the qualifications and experiences which mid-managers bring to their positions? What should be the preparation of prospective mid-managers and of prospective chief student affairs officers?

Much additional work is needed to assist mid-managers and institutional decision makers to make informed decisions regarding the mobility of mid-managers.

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Chapter 3

Mid-management Role Issues: Expectations, Conflicts, and Ambiguities

J. Roger Penn

There are several essential factors related to role conflict that must be considered when analyzing the successes and failures of mid-managers within student affairs. These factors include:

- the nature of the organizational structure or work environment
- the roles or behavioral expectations that mid-managers have of themselves and that others have of them as they carry out their responsibilities
- role conflict or the incompatible behavioral expectations and demands that mid-managers encounter
- role ambiguity or the lack of clarity associated with one's responsibilities which leads to various degrees of stress and poor performance

These factors can combine to help mid-managers move up within their profession or to bar advancement in particular work settings.

Organizational Structures

First, consider the organizational context in higher education in which goals are carried out. Those who are familiar with the history of higher education in this country realize that there has been much debate regarding models of the organizational and governance structures that should exist within our institutions. For example, Carson (1975) suggested that colleges and universities are essentially bureaucratic in nature. The institution is much like a corporate person by virtue of its charter and has within it a formal hierarchy of established channels of authority and responsibility. This model sets the stage for an analysis of colleges and universities as formal work places for faculty and administrators who, through bureaucratic procedures, divide the process of labor and produce a product called education.

The most readily identifiable alternative to the bureaucratic model is the "collegial model" as described by Millett (1962). Here the institution is considered a collection of related and sometimes unrelated activities which focus on the discovery and transmission of knowledge. The organizational structure is composed of an informal hierarchy based on professional expertise and professional endeavor among colleagues. Policy, procedures, and decisions are made through the "community of scholars" and then implemented by the managers or administrators.

Most students of higher education would agree that colleges and universities possess a combination of bureaucratic and collegial characteristics. Katz and Kahn (1978), for example, noted that a definite social system of predefined working relationships exists within colleges and universities and that this system is unique to higher education institutions. They suggested presidents, deans, and, in most cases, department chairs constitute the "managerial system"; that faculty and related instructional staff compose the "production system"; and that student affairs staff function as the "institutional support system." In the broadest sense, members of each of these systems share a common mission. However, the basic goals and everyday work of each subgroup may be in conflict.

Austin and Gamson (1983) pointed out that individuals may find themselves primarily within the bureaucratic structure as noted above by Carson or within the collegial structure as explained by Millett. On occasion, staff find themselves in both:

> While some employees such as department chairs and deans live in both worlds, other employees such as many mid-level administrators, faculty, and nonacademic clerical staff are more clearly located in one or the other. What this means is that role expectations within the academic community may be at odds with each other. At times, authority that is centered in a particular office in the bureaucratic structure may conflict with authority based in the collegial structure (Austin and Gamson, 1983, p. 15).

Conflicts in organizational structures create general role conflicts for student affairs mid-managers. Many duties of those mid-managers are administrative or bureaucratic in nature while others are collegial in nature—teaching, advising, and counseling, for example. These types of conflicts can affect the particular role expectations, conflicts, and ambiguities of student affairs mid-managers.

Role Expectations and Mid-management

Role expectations are individual perceptions of what the organization expects in day-to-day performance. They provide the foundation for human behavior on the job. For example, Graen (1976) emphasized that complex organizations have role-making systems wherein each individual identifies role expectations and then enacts roles. Katz and Kahn (1978) noted that expectations are learned through the "role episode." Within the context of the role episode, role expectations are standards applied to the behavior of any person who holds a given position. "Send roles" are the expectations sent by the members (supervisors and subordinates) of the work environment as they attempt to influence the employee. And "received roles" are the person's perception of the roles he or she is to play through behavior (Katz & Kahn, 1978).

Three primary roles are said to exist in student affairs: counselor, administrator, and student development educator (Delworth, Hanson & Associates, 1980). The attempt to identify and differentiate among these roles has influenced the literature of the field. For example, in an article on student services versus student development, Rhatigan (1975) commented on the various roles that staff can play: "housekeepers, handholders, or educators." These roles can be equated with administration, counseling, and student development education. More recently, Bloland (1986) noted that the role of student development educator had become central to the "new orthodoxy" of student affairs.

The concept of the role episode helps to differentiate these three primary roles put forth in the literature. For example, strong role expectations or standards of professional behavior are related to particular schools of counseling theory and techniques. At the same time, the role of the administrator often involves sent roles in which supervisors and subordinates communicate definite expectations as they seek to influence administrative decisions. Also, received roles can play an important part in influencing the behavior and actions of mid-managers in student affairs because most have a strong commitment to the concept of student development or promoting student growth and learning beyond the confines of the formal classroom.

Some student affairs practitioners believe that the roles of counselor, administrator, and student development are (or should be) exclusive of each other. Although this belief seems unrealistic to this author, it has been evident throughout the evolution of the field (Saddlemire & Rentz, 1986). Characterized by a wide range of loosely associated activities, the field is as diverse as the professionals who work in it—counselors, deans of students, financial aid administrators, directors of student housing, admissions officers, college union directors, student activities coordinators, and other staff responsible for related programs.

Therefore, within the field there is a broad range of role expectations based on differing areas of specialization. Role expectations for staff members who work primarily with students differ from those who work with students and faculty.

Both kinds of expectations differ dramatically from those of staff who work almost exclusively with administrators and external constituencies. For example, in working with students, staff can find themselves balancing the roles of authority figure, supervisor, confidant, advisor, and friend. Similar balancing might hold true in working with faculty, but administrative roles are tempered by a different collegial relationship with faculty.

Further, these differences in role expectations are reflected in the curriculum of most graduate programs which prepare individuals for positions within the field. First, there are programs with a counseling emphasis. Graduate students are trained in the theories and techniques of counseling and, through supervised internships, emerge prepared to work primarily with students. Second, there are those graduate programs that emphasize administration, dealing more closely with the skills necessary to work with faculty and administrators in organizing and implementing programs and services for students and other clientele of the university. Last, several graduate programs have developed a curriculum which stresses student development. Here, the emphasis is on working with students and faculty to design specific learning environments and adapt psychological and social development theories to the world of postsecondary education (Delworth et al., 1980; Penn & Trow, 1987).

In examining role expectations and potential conflict, it is apparent that the distinction between these three primary roles can create further dilemmas for those who hold positions in mid-management. A review of the definition of mid-management in Chapter 1 aids the discussion of the particular impact of diverse roles on student affairs mid-managers.

As noted in Chapter 1, mid-management in student affairs largely refers to those administrative staff who do not function as part of the institution's executive leadership but who do, as a part of their primary duties, hire and supervise other staff and manage various programs. Typical examples of mid-managers include staff who hold positions as department heads or directors, associate or assistant deans, program directors or assistant directors, and program coordinators.

As Drucker (1973) noted, mid-managers serve a variety of functions and their work is expected to have direct, and oftentimes significant, impact on the institution. According to Scott (1978), mid-managers play three key roles within colleges and universities. First, they act as a liaison to "external suppliers" of financial, human, or material resources. Second, they participate in policy deliberations as well as develop and implement procedures for allocating and controlling resources within the institution. Last, they work with other staff, faculty, and students to deliver programs and services as well as promote institutional maintenance and stability.

Thus, it is apparent that student affairs practitioners not only face the dilemma of sorting the typical issues associated with the clarity of responsibility that face many mid-managers within the institution, but also they face the dilemma of balancing the demands of three rather distinct roles that exist within this field—counselor, administrator, and student development educator. While it is possible to balance the demands of each role, their distinctive natures often create role conflict for many mid-managers.

Role Conflict in Student Affairs

The term role conflict most often refers to a situation where individuals find themselves holding positions in which there are incompatible behavioral expectations or demands which cannot be fulfilled (Parsons, 1951). While role conflict can exist at all levels of staffing, several authors have suggested that it might be a major characteristic of mid-management. This assertion is based on the fact that organizational environments are the primary determinant of a staff member's role conflict and here, the classic example of the person who is caught between a rock and a hard place serves to illustrate the dilemma of the mid-manager. This person is confronted often with conflicting behavioral expectations as work is defined from above by supervisors, from below by subordinates (and sometimes students), and sideways by faculty.

Jackson and Schuler (1985) noted that, although a significant body of literature and research exists on role theory, numerous empirical discrepancies exist among the reported research results. Yet, my personal observation leads to a conclusion that several key factors are involved in role conflict, among them, service versus control-oriented responsibilities, staff versus student-centered work, specialization of tasks versus generalization, and dependence on the work group versus independence and autonomy (Scott 1978). The magnitude of the conflict can increase because the mid-manager in student affairs must also reconcile the differences in role expectations between serving as a counselor, administrator, or student development educator.

Directors and associate directors in financial aid offices are excellent examples of the role conflict resulting from these conditions. As Scott (1978) observed, these financial aid officers are trained to work with students in a helpful and productive manner. They view students and parents as their clients. Their philosophical orientation and the focus of their work are on a helping relationship. Yet, at the same time, institutional and governmental requirements mandate that an increasing amount of time be dedicated to seemingly bureaucratic processes involving monitoring and control. As many a director of financial aid has heard before, "Everyone knows that the financial aid office is the place where students are hassled and told 'No!' by uncaring administrators."

Mid-managers in student activities, student housing, and dean of students offices often view themselves as public servants who strive to effectively assist and help students as consumers. At the same time, they view themselves as educators or student development specialists working in the educational arena outside the classroom. Yet, students may view the efforts of these "servants" as more of a hindrance than a help, and the organizational and value structure of many institutions fails to recognize the contributions of these staff members. The reward system of the academic community can send a clear message that the institution does not value loyal service as much as it does efforts that yield recognition and additional funds. Thus, confusion and fragmentation in expectations and responsibilities lead to role conflicts and varied role behaviors, which in turn lead to stress and lack of validation for the mid-manager's role.

Evidence has been presented which substantiates a relationship between the degree of role conflict and work-related tension, stress, work dissatisfaction, and a lack of confidence in the organization as well as its leaders (Tosi, 1971; House & Rizzo, 1972). In searching for solutions to alleviate role conflict and some of the related problems it causes, attention is often focused on the concept and issue or role ambiguity.

Role Ambiguity in Student Affairs

Role ambiguity can be defined as a lack of clarity in one's job. Once again, role expectations are involved, but role ambiguity centers on poor formal and informal communication within the organization. For mid-managers, role ambiguity often results from conditions that exist in the work setting that are related to the mid-manager's interrelationships with subordinates, coworkers, and supervisors. According to Ruben (1984), these interrelationships include both "people and events." A significant factor related to events has to do with organization and departmental structure. A critical issue concerning events is whether the work and related activities of staff are an integral part of the academic enterprise or auxiliary and in support of that enterprise. Student affairs departments often operate in both academic and auxiliary arenas, but the work of staff in academic affairs is frequently not fully appreciated. For example, staff might hold academic credentials that are equal to those of faculty, yet these staff might not be permitted to hold academic rank. This can result in a state of tension and conflict as mid-managers strive to participate in the academic enterprise as full partners with faculty and with upper-echelon administrators.

Further, in student affairs, the issue of specialist versus generalist duties can contribute to role ambiguity. Mid-managers in most institutions, at one time or another, are specialists in particular areas such as counseling, financial aid, student activities, or student housing. However, as they advance and become responsible for managing programs or departments, they become more generalist practitioners. As generalists, mid-managers must possess an adequate understanding of a great number of specialized responsibilities and they must be prepared to provide leadership within a broader administrative structure. Yet, although they possess specialized information and may operate as generalists within the institution, they may not have specific training in their new roles and they may not assume or be offered full partnership in policy setting and upper management decision making. "Standards, expectations, and directions are often confused as their constituents send conflicting signals to them" (Scott, 1978, p. 47).

A key question is, "Who teaches the mid-manager?" As Booth (1982) noted, mid-managers need to know what is expected, what procedures are used, who the key "players" are, what the scope of responsibility is, and how performance evaluations will occur. An in-service orientation to these issues is essential, whether it is conducted as a formal program or an informal series of meetings with supervisors and colleagues.

Formal reporting relationships as well as informal social relationships also result in a type of role ambiguity. The nature of work in student affairs frequently spans several offices and departments. Because of specific issues at hand, mid-managers may be involved in numerous interdepartmental meetings called to solve particular problems. However, they may not be invited to participate in the councils that establish general policy about those problem areas. This excludes these mid-managers from developing a proactive relationship and results in the creation of further barriers to forming a sound sense of partnership with various departments across the campus.

Another problem occurs when, because of a lack of resources, mid-managers in student affairs find themselves reporting to more than one supervisor. Dual or triple reporting relationships create confusion about the responsibility and accountability of mid-managers.

I believe other factors within the organizational structure can also promote role ambiguity. For example, mid-managers in student affairs may be expected to work closely with student leaders, yet they may not be afforded the opportunity to develop formal working relationships with these students as faculty advisors. It is common for student leaders to select their own advisors, often from the faculty. And, within the administration when opportunities for formal interaction with student leaders occur, the executive leadership of the institution prefers to be visible and play an active role. The legitimacy and credibility of the mid-manager's role can be jeopardized as students seek advice and action from the highest levels of the institution. Mid-managers might not get credit for the amount of time and energy they spend on students. In the long run, this might affect the quality and quantity of service that mid-managers provide to student leaders and student organizations.

Similar concerns can be related to the recognition that mid-managers receive for their work on administrative councils and committees. Upper-echelon administrators may dominate those committees and prohibit mid-managers from developing clear ideas about their responsibilities and clear working relationships with other committee members.

Given these circumstances, what are the potential outcomes of role ambiguity? As Scott (1978) noted, due to the lack of the institutional rewards and reinforcement, many mid-managers identify models for professional behavior through contacts that are external to the campus. Professional and community organizations can offer opportunities for meaningful leadership roles which are denied in the formal work place. Self-esteem, which is originally developed through sound performance and service to the institution, is now obtained through participation and recognition in professional associations or through off-campus consulting (see Chapter 7), and "institutional loyalty—so plentiful when the middle manager begins to work—begins to attenuate" (Scott, 1978, p. 47).

A lack of recognition of their contributions to the institution can leave mid-managers with the feelings that they are "anonymous leaders" and the ones who, in reality, "hold things together" (Glenny, 1972) even though their efforts are unappreciated. The result of such feelings can be disenchantment, indifference, stress, and burnout on the job.

Solutions and Satisfactions

Kanter (1979) and Scott (1978) noted that many conditions limit opportunities for internal advancement in higher education—relatively few top management positions, affirmative action guidelines that often require external searches and hiring, and a slow rate of institutional growth. These conditions result in a class of mid-managers that is essentially locked into positions for a long period of time. Chapter 2 provides more information about the mobility of mid-managers.

With this in mind, two questions should be addressed. First, given the stress and tension arising out of role conflict and ambiguity, what are the job satisfactions of mid-managers? And second, are there strategies or forms of coping behavior which can alleviate problems associated with role conflict and ambiguity among mid-managers?

The first question concerns the types of job satisfaction. Surveys by professional associations suggest that salary compensation might be inadequate given the skills and work load of many mid-managers. Further, within the social structure of academe, mid-managers, unless they are affiliated with the faculty, can have relatively low status. Given these drawbacks along with the frustrations of role conflict and ambiguity, one wonders why individuals seek positions in mid-management.

The answer can be found in the fact that there are two sides to the coin. First, much of the work of mid-managers can be characterized by diversity and variety. This is particularly true as positions become more generalist in nature. While mid-managers at many institutions may not set their own agendas, the agenda is often stimulating and offers variety. Second, with some access to executive leadership and related resources and information, mid-managers can have the opportunity to influence important decisions. Third, many mid-managers also control significant resources which add to their status. Fourth, within their own sphere of responsibility, they may have considerable latitude and autonomy.

Finally, Austin and Gamson (1983) noted that several additional intrinsic rewards are important in determining a mid-manager's level of job satisfaction. These can include a sense of loyalty and commitment to the institution as well as pride in the contributions the institution makes to its clientele. Chapter 4 contains more discussion of these and other rewards of mid-management.

In regard to the second question noted above about coping behavior, several processes have been proposed to reduce or modify role conflict and ambiguity (e.g., Newman & Beeks, 1979). One such strategy deals with career assessment and job evaluation. Here, the person who is pursuing advancement into mid-management undertakes a formal review and evaluation of the nature of the work in an effort to remove some of the glitter associated with professional advancement. The focus is on learning more about the nature of the mid-manager's role, the pressure points in the particular position, and the development of a realistic appraisal of the position's advantages and disadvantages.

Another strategy might involve structured work-group meetings between supervisors, subordinates, and peers to clarify expectations. This strategy places a heavy emphasis on two-way, open communication and provides an opportunity to identify communication problems and reconcile expectations, but it also promotes the ventilation of emotions. Overall, the process confronts the issue of fragmentation and enhances group cohesion and cooperation. It also encourages upper- and executive-level management to effectively delegate and to refrain from over managing subordinates.

Several authors and researchers have suggested that techniques associated with position analysis and role clarification hold promise for reducing job conflict and role ambiguity. For example, Ivancevich and Matteson (1980) noted that survey procedures and personnel interviews can identify specific differences in expectations between upper management and mid-management. Also, surveys and interviews are useful in identifying organizational factors that promote ambiguity as well as varied expectations. Huse (1980) suggested that a clarification of the "understandings" that supervisors and subordinates have about the work to be done and the process for doing it is critical in resolving conflict. The more concrete the understanding, the easier it is to bring clarity to reporting relationships and develop procedures to evaluate performance.

The process of group or team decision making can also reduce role conflict and ambiguity. Morris, Steers, and Koch (1979) concluded that specific efforts designed to bring about consensus within the work unit as well as to involve staff in the decision-making process lead to less confusion and ambiguity. Consensus minimizes feelings of helplessness, frustration, and indifference, although it should be recognized that time spent on consensus building increases the total amount of time that is spent in decision making.

Bennett (1982), while working for the American Council on Education, suggested that upper management could take several specific actions to clarify role expectations in mid-management (among department chairs). These actions include: a) providing a sound orientation to operating procedures and the organizational structure, b) providing information to mid-managers before it is widely disseminated, c) involving mid-managers in policy deliberations and giving them a legitimate role to play, and d) recognizing the mid-manager's authority by not communicating directly with staff on matters under the mid-manager's scope of responsibility and by not encouraging staff to bypass the mid-manager.

All these strategies emphasize actions that can promote clarity in role expectations. With clarity comes the potential for alleviating role conflict and ambiguity. The results for the mid-manager should be improved performance, increased job satisfaction, and a reduction in work-related stress. The benefits for the institution are equally significant as they are related to improved efficiency, morale, and quality of work.

Conclusion

Behavioral scientists recognize that roles are defined by the participants of any given social system. As noted earlier, roles are closely connected to expectations which in turn influence behavior. Given the structure of the organization or the social system, certain roles are open and unstructured while others are highly structured and are specific to individuals or of certain groups of workers—in this discussion, mid-managers in student affairs.

For mid-managers in higher education, and more specifically student affairs, the social position of many jobs within the organization and the related rights and obligations of these jobs can be characterized by a lack of clarity and a degree of confusion. Beyond the basic requirements of the mission of most institutions—teaching, research, and public service—the division of labor and the work itself are often characterized by vagueness.

However, given these circumstances, mid-managers can and must have some control over their destiny. Institutional effectiveness can no more be left to the upper and executive levels of management than can "war be left to the generals." The key to institutional effectiveness often lies at the level of mid-management and below. Regardless of the arena—academic, auxiliary, or institutional support—it is largely through mid-managers and their subordinates that the product is created and delivered; dollars, people, and equipment are accounted for; and policy decisions are interpreted and implemented. It is through mid-management and those who are in the trenches that an institution's collective history is often recorded, its heritage created, and its viability and vitality maintained.

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Chapter 4

Press and Stress: A Comparative Study of Institutional Factors Affecting the Work of Mid-managers

Janet White
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Robert Young

Over ten years ago, Scott (1978) published a definitive study of the function, status, roles, and values of mid-managers in higher education. His findings were based on an extensive literature search, a research questionnaire, and structured interviews with over 200 administrators, faculty, and search committee chairs at 18 colleges and universities of different sizes and types. He concluded that mid-managers were the unsung heroes; the hard working, reliable but generally invisible people who keep the day-to-day operations of the institution flowing smoothly.

To expand upon Scott's findings, our study surveyed mid-managers in student affairs at different types of institutions to determine if institution type had an effect on the type of position perceived as middle level, the level of responsibility of those persons, their sources of job satisfaction, and their perceived opportunities for advancement. Most of the content of the current survey was drawn from the findings and recommendations of Scott's research.

Methodology

Fifty-three randomly selected vice presidents for student affairs at colleges and universities in Ohio received information about the study and five surveys to be distributed to "any five mid level managers on your staff." Six types of institutions were surveyed: 14 private church related, 8 private non-church related, 10 two-year technical, 8 community colleges, 11 public four-year universities, and 2 four-year business colleges. A total of 116 responses were received (44 percent). This response rate limited the validity and generalization of findings from the study. The business college responses are not included in this report because of the very low response rate. Analyses of variance were conducted on the responses and post-hoc comparisons were made using the Tukey-B procedure.

Survey Findings

Job Title. Scott (1978) found the position titles of those perceived as mid-managers to be deans, including assistant and associate deans, and directors (also assistant and associate). Similarly, 81 percent of the survey respondents carried one of these titles. Other titles were coordinator (N = 7), assistant vice president (N = 5), counselor (N = 2), placement or financial aid officer (N = 4), administrative or program assistant (N = 2), manager (N = 1), and liaison (N = 1).

Supervision. Forty-six percent of the mid-managers reported directly to a dean of students or director of student services, while 39 percent listed their direct supervisor as a vice president for student affairs. The remainder reported to assistant or associate deans/vice presidents, with the exception of one person who reported to the president.

Fifty-nine percent of the respondents supervised one or more professional staff, a finding that might correlate with high percentage of respondents who reported directly to the dean or vice president. Although some respondents supervised as many as 14 professional staff, the mean number of supervised staff was three.

Length of Time in the Position. Among the survey respondents, 81 percent had been in their position 10 years or less, including 55 percent who had served less than four years. This finding might indicate extensive mobility within the ranks of mid-managers in Ohio.

Responsibilities

Mid-managers serve as linking pins in universities and colleges; they implement but rarely develop policy (Scott, 1978). In Chapter 3, Penn provides more information about the general role responsibilities of student affairs mid-managers. Based on personal observations, the authors believe mid-managers often serve as the institutional liaison to students by providing services and information outside the classroom. In addition, mid-managers unite student affairs areas, promoting staff and student accessibility to those areas.

The survey asked the respondents to list "4 to 5 main responsibilities." To uncover the domains of responsibilities involved, the respondents' lists were analyzed according to Spradley's (1979) ethnographic procedure. Domains were determined by analysis of the responses for "cover terms," open-ended responses that organized data, and "included terms," open-ended responses that belonged to the category indicated by the cover terms. Table 1 shows the cover terms and included terms for these domains of responsibilities and the percentages of respondents citing each responsibility.

The major domain of responsibilities dealt with advising and counseling individual students or student organizations, followed by planning and implementing programs for students and supervision. These responsibilities were consistent across institutions and institution types. The only exception might be mid-managers at technical colleges who reported less involvement in cocurricular student programming and student advising.

The respondents were asked to mark whether these responsibilities had "changed," "been added," or "deleted" since they

Table 1
Domains of Responsibilities of Student Affairs Middle Managers Who Responded to the Ohio Survey

Responsibility	Percentages Responding from Institution				
Domains/ Functions	Four-Year		Two-Year		Public
	Church (N = 29)	Indpndnt (N = 21)	Tech (N = 10)	Comm. (N = 18)	Univer. (N = 34)
Supervision					
of department	–	–	–	11	18
of staff	17	43	30	28	35
of students	3	19	–	17	26
Program Development					
Campus/res. life	34	14	–	17	35
Student activities	14	24	20	–	9
Orientation	14	14	–	6	18
Intramurals	7	–	10	6	–
Advising/Counseling					
Advising/counseling students	41	48	50	33	21
Advising student organizations	14	29	–	17	18
Discipline/judicial	24	24	10	11	9
International students	7	–	–	–	6
Minority affairs	–	5	–	6	3
Teaching (voc. study)	–	5	10	–	–
Recruitment	7	–	30	39	18
Leadership development	10	–	–	6	12
Handicapped students	–	–	–	–	3
Veteran	–	–	–	17	3
Administration					
Liaison with departments/ collegewide comms	–	10	–	–	18
Record keeping	–	–	20	11	15
Policy/procedure development	3	–	–	–	15
Pubs/marketing	–	–	–	–	12
Budgeting	7	–	10	6	24
Planning/development	–	–	10	6	6

assumed their positions. Significant differences were discovered between those who had been on the job the most and the least amounts of time. Mid-managers with over 16 years of experience were more likely to have changed or deleted responsibilities than mid-managers with 0–5 years on the job (sig. = p>.05).

Extrinsic Sources of Satisfaction

Respondents were asked to rate the following extrinsic sources of job satisfaction on a scale from 1 (very low in importance) to 5 (very high in importance): salary, authority of your position, staff development opportunities, opportunities to develop/influence policy, support from colleagues within your institution, support from colleagues outside your institution, support from your supervisor, and others. The ratings appear in Table 2.

Table 2
Mean Ratings of Extrinsic Sources of Job Satisfaction

(1 = very low in importance, 2 = low in importance, 3 = moderately important, 4 = high in importance, 5 = very high in importance)
[ ] = rank order

	Four-Year		Two-Year		Public	
Source	**Church (N = 29)**	**Indpndnt (N = 21)**	**Tech (N = 10)**	**Comm. (N = 18)**	**Univer. (N = 34)**	**Total**
Support from supervisor	3.57[2]	4.2[1]	3.67[4]	4.11[1]	3.9[3]	3.89[1]
Opportunities to develop/influence policy within	3.83[1]	3.42[4]	4.1[1]	3.05[6]	3.94[1]	3.67[2]
the institution	3.36[4]	4.09[2]	3.78[2]	3.72[4]	3.33[5]	3.59[3]
Own authority in the position	3.46[3]	3[6]	3.5[5]	3.05[6]	3.94[1]	3.42[4]
Salary[1]	2.96[6]	2.86[7]	3.7[3]	3.84[2]	3.82[4]	3.39[5]
Staff development opportunities	2.96[6]	3.7[3]	2.7[7]	3.75[3]	3.2[6]	3.27[6]
Support from colleagues outside the institution	3.27[5]	3.38[5]	2.75[6]	3.56[5]	3.04[7]	3.25[7]

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[1] ANOVA sig. p = > .05 between the public university and private college [church and independent] mid-managers

The mean rating of seven extrinsic sources of job satisfaction was more than "moderately important." Support from the supervisor ranked as the most important extrinsic source of job satisfaction, with community college and independent college respondents rating this category highest. Rated next highest in importance was "opportunities to develop or influence policy." These opportunities and staff development opportunities are discussed later in this section. "Support from colleagues within the institution" was rated third highest as a source of job satisfaction. Respondents from private independent colleges rated this as their second most important source of extrinsic support.

The "authority of the position" was less important than the extrinsic sources of satisfaction that are listed above. Public university administrators rated the authority of the position much higher in importance than the respondents from any other type of institution. Although these responses were not significantly different than the responses at other types of institutions, significant differences were found when the responses were analyzed according to the size of the institution. For example, administrators at institutions with more than 20,000 students valued authority much more than those with less than 5,000 students (sig. = $p > .05$). This might be due to the tendency of some administrators, including mid-managers, in larger institutions to measure their worth on the job by the size of their staffs and budgets.

The category of salary yielded the only significant differences by institutional type in this study. The public university responses were significantly higher (sig. = $p < 05$) than the private college (church and independent) ones, perhaps because many of these public administrators receive higher salaries than their colleagues at private institutions. Also, the mission of church-related institutions can mute public avowals of the importance of salary. Clerical administrators in those institutions might not tout salary as an important source of job satisfaction. It is also possible that some intrinsic sources of satisfaction outweigh the rewards of salary in private institutions.

Opportunities to Influence/Develop Policy. Opportunities to develop or influence policy were rated as the top extrinsic source of satisfaction by respondents from public universities, private church-related colleges, and technical colleges. This rating is interesting because Scott (1978) stated that mid-managers do not have opportunities to develop policy and, therefore, policy development should not be a high source of satisfaction for them.

The mid-managers in this study stated they had participated in departmental policy development, specific area policy (e.g., policy for student organizations), and broad institutional decision making. Eighty-eight percent of the respondents indicated they had opportunities for departmental policy development and 84 percent believed they had opportunities to influence specific area policy. Forty-two percent indicated they had opportunities to participate in broad institutional decision making, including one associate director who served on the university administrative governing body. Mid-managers at community colleges indicated little involvement in institutional decision making but most of the private independent college (67 percent) and two-year technical college (60 percent) respondents reported they had opportunities in this area of responsibility.

Staff Development Opportunities. Scott (1978) expounded on the importance of staff development for mid-managers as both a form of skill development and an incentive for satisfaction. Staff development is addressed at length in Chapters 6 and 7. As illustrated in Table 2, the survey respondents valued staff development opportunities, but not as highly as other sources of job support.

The respondents were also provided with a checklist about the availability of financial assistance to attend regional or national conferences, financial assistance to attend personal or professional skill development workshops, financial assistance for advanced degree work, and released time for advanced degree work. Almost all the respondents (94 percent) indicated that financial assistance was available to them to attend conferences or personal/professional skill development workshops, but the availability of financial assistance dropped to 39 percent for support for advanced degree work. The public universities were most supportive of advanced degree work, perhaps because they can offer tuition reimbursements for on-campus graduate work while many private colleges do not offer graduate programs and would have to pay more to support their staff's advanced degree coursework.

Released time for pursuing advanced degree work was less prevalent than financial assistance. Only 27 percent of the respondents indicated that this option was available to them. This opportunity was provided most often at public universities and church-related colleges.

The size of institutions was related to the importance of staff development. Staff at the smallest institutions (less than 1,000 students) were less likely to value staff development opportunities than those at institutions with 10,000 or more students (sig. = p>.05). This revelation might be related to fewer numbers of staff development opportunities available at smaller institutions than at larger ones.

Intrinsic Sources of Job Satisfaction

The respondents were asked to rate the following intrinsic sources of job satisfaction on a scale from 1 (very low in importance) to 5 (very high in importance): opportunities to influence students' development; respect from colleagues; respect from superiors; freedom to influence, control, or change job responsibilities; flexibility and freedom to establish daily routine or workload; variety of responsibilities, and others (as specified by the respondent). The ratings appear in Table 3.

Student Development. One of the roles commonly assigned to student affairs practitioners is that of student development educator (Delworth & Hanson, 1980; Miller, Winston, & Mendenhall, 1983). Scott (1978) found that mid-managers were most satisfied with opportunities to help students and staff, and, overall, the mid-managers in this study rated their role as student development educators as the highest source of intrinsic job satisfaction. This might be related to the numbers of the responsibilities that involve student advising and program development (see Table 1).

Table 3
Mean Ratings of Extrinsic Sources of Job Satisfaction

(1 = very low in importance, 2 = low in importance, 3 = moderately important, 4 = high in importance, 5 = very high in importance)
[ ] = rank order

	Four-Year		Two-Year		Public	
Source	**Church (N = 29)**	**Indpndnt (N = 21)**	**Tech (N = 10)**	**Comm. (N = 18)**	**Univer. (N = 34)**	**Total**
Opportunities to influence students' development	4.31[1]	4.09[1]	3.8[2]	4.16[1]	3.94[1]	4.05[1]
Flexibility and freedom to establish daily routine	3.55[4]	3.68[3]	4.33[1]	3.94[2]	3.94[1]	3.83[2]
Variety of job responsibilities	3.62[3]	3.71[2]	3[6]	3.68[4]	3.87[4]	3.66[3]
Freedom to influence/control change job responsibilities	3.38[6]	3.32[6]	3.44[3]	3.66[5]	3.88[3]	3.59[4]
Respect from superiors	3.48[5]	3.45[5]	3.42[5]	3.53[6]	3.76[5]	3.56[5]
Respect from colleagues	3.7[2]	3.55[4]	3.44[3]	3.71[3]	3.41[6]	3.55[6]

The only exception to this rating was in the response from technical schools. The lower rating could be due, in part, to their two-year curriculum and the part-time enrollment of students. Also, student development is not a central component in the mission of many technical colleges. Finally, given only two years to influence student development, the student affairs mid-managers in technical colleges might find less satisfaction in this area than their counterparts at four-year institutions.

These same factors apply to community colleges. However, student development has been an important aspect of student affairs work in community colleges (e.g., O'Banion, 1969), which might explain their higher ranking of student development than their colleagues in two-year technical colleges.

Student development has also been linked to the liberal arts tradition of four-year private colleges (Kuh, Shedd, & Whitt, 1987). The small size of many private colleges might also increase the numbers and depth of opportunities to influence student development (Young, 1986), but institutional size was not correlated with the responses to this question.

Autonomy. Autonomy in the work environment was an important source of satisfaction. Freedom to establish the daily routine ranked second overall and freedom to influence, control, or change job responsibilities ranked fourth. The public university and technical college respondents ranked freedom to establish the routine as first and freedom to influence job responsibilities as third in their ratings of intrinsic job satisfactions.

Scott (1978) found that mid-managers were satisfied with the opportunity to act independently and Kuh (1983) asserted that, much of the time, student affairs staff function as autonomous institutional agents. These staff do what they want to do (or what they think needs to be done) despite the presence of goals and objectives, manuals, and organizational chains of command (Kuh, 1983).

A variety of job responsibilities is a source of satisfaction that is related to autonomy. This source of intrinsic satisfaction is also valued highly by most respondents, ranking third overall. One respondent from a private church-related institution added "new challenges" and rated this item as the highest source of job satisfaction. Another respondent listed "certainty in work" as the most satisfying aspect of his position. These conflicting appraisals of challenge and certainty support Scott's (1978) findings that mid-managers are faced with competing value theme dilemmas, one of which is challenge versus security.

McInnes (in Scott, 1978) described four basic freedoms of a university administrator:

- freedom of access to the institution, including the freedom to be considered for a job
- freedom in the office, including the freedom to administer and be accountable
- freedom on and off campus
- freedom of due process.

The data from the current study indicate that mid-managers find some satisfaction with the freedom to both administer and be accountable, but, as we will examine later, less freedom to access the institution, particularly in terms of being considered for a different job.

Relationships with Colleagues. According to Delworth and Hanson (1980), student affairs mid-managers must meet the expectations of both superiors and subordinates. In a similar way, Scott (1978) referred to mid-managers as the linking pins of an organization, with obligations above and below their position in the hierarchy.

This focus on relationships is interesting, given the contrasting ratings of collegial support as extrinsic and intrinsic sources. Support from colleagues inside the institution was the third highest source of extrinsic support for the mid-managers, but respect from colleagues was the lowest source of intrinsic satisfaction. Still, the overall mean ratings were similar (3.59 extrinsic and 3.55 intrinsic), placing them between "moderately important" and "high in importance." The rating from respect from colleagues was lowest in public universities and highest in community colleges and church-related schools. Mid-managers in church-related schools ranked collegial respect as the second highest source of intrinsic satisfaction.

While support from the supervisor ranked as the highest source of extrinsic support on the job, respect from superiors was ranked as the second lowest source of intrinsic support. Still, the overall mean rating for both sources of support was between "moderately important" and "high in importance."

Mobility Issues

A review of the research on mobility appears in Chapter 2. The data in that review and the results of this study conflict with Scott's (1978) assertion that mid-managers are loyalists, striving to maintain allegiance to their institution. Scott noted that this loyalty may be threatened by the lack of respect from supervisors and the pressure and attractions of professional work.

The mid-managers in this study declared their supervisors' respect was an important intrinsic reward on the job, which would increase their institutional loyalty if they were receiving that respect. However, the mid-managers also seemed interested in mobility, as revealed in their responses to a checklist of items about opportunities for advancement at their current institutions, relocation, and their willingness to leave higher education if they were unable to advance. This interest in mobility creates some uncertainty about their institutional loyalty.

Most of the respondents did not believe they would have opportunities for advancement at their present institutions now or in the future. Three-fourths of the respondents at community colleges and four-year independent colleges responded negatively to this question, and two-thirds of the responses from the other institutions were negative. Earlier studies have often reported that the opportunities for mid-managerial advancement were limited, requiring alternative modes of mobility (see Chapter 2). Apparently a perception of limited opportunities for vertical mobility is still widely held among the mid-managers in this study.

Most of the mid-managers were willing to relocate if their career aspirations could not be fulfilled at their current institution. This was especially true for mid-managers who had been on the job less than 10 years. They responded more affirmatively (sig. = $p > .05$) about their willingness to relocate than mid-managers with more than 16 years on the job. Three-fourths of the professionals in the private institutions were willing to relocate, compared to about two-thirds at other institutional types.

In four-year public colleges and in two-year technical schools, mid-managers preferred to remain in higher education even if they were not able to advance in their chosen career path. In all the other institutions, most of the mid-managers were willing to leave higher education. Three-fourths of the respondents in private independent colleges were willing to consider careers outside higher education.

Scott (1978) asserted that in background, training, and orientation, mid-managers are probably more like teachers and salesmen than like physicians and librarians, and more like businessmen than faculty. Or, to paraphrase Veblen (1957), mid-managers might be "corporals of erudition," neither senior researchers nor "captains of industry." These images of mid-managers seem related to some of the career aspirations of the respondents in this study. When asked to list their career aspirations outside higher education, open-ended responses from the mid-managers included sales, real estate, public relations, arts management, and Christian education.

Scott (1978) recommended that incentives for mid-managers include personnel policies that support professional development opportunities and career advancement in more than a single, narrow path. The data from this study seem to support Scott's recommendation. Our mid-managers did not believe they had opportunities for advancement and they were willing to relocate or leave higher education if advancement beyond their present position is not possible. Policies that supported their mobility might keep many of these mid-managers in higher education.

Summary and Conclusion

An examination of the results of Scott's (1978) study and the current research illustrates several differences. Some of the differences may be attributed to Scott's consideration of all mid-managers in higher education, while consideration here was limited to student affairs professionals. Although differences by institutional type were anticipated, the resulting data did not present significantly different perceptions of mid-managers in public universities, community and technical colleges, and private four-year institutions.

Consistency is found in managerial titles, supervisors, and responsibility for supervision. Managers in all the institutions valued all the sources of extrinsic and intrinsic job support. Most respondents valued support from the supervisor as the top extrinsic reward and the opportunity to influence student development as the top intrinsic reward of the job. Most were able to participate in departmental policy making. Finances were available for conference attendance, but few were provided funds for advanced degree work. Even fewer were likely to receive released time for coursework. All saw little opportunity for advancement at their institutions and most were willing to relocate.

Institutional Profiles

Mid-managers in private colleges are likely to be more involved in institutional policy making than their counterparts at other types of institutions. They are least likely to receive financial support for advanced degree work. They value their opportunity to influence student development and they are directly involved in student programming activities.

Mid-managers at public institutions (university, technical college, community college) seek more satisfaction from their salary than professionals at private four-year colleges. Freedom issues appear to be important since these public institution employees value the opportunity to influence, control, or change job responsibilities and the flexibility to establish daily routines more than private college managers.

The public university mid-manager seeks the most satisfaction from the authority of the position. This mid-manager is also most likely to receive support to pursue an advanced degree. Mid-managers at community colleges receive the greatest satisfaction from their salaries of any group, but they see the least opportunity to advance. They value support from colleagues outside the institution more highly than professionals at other types of institutions.

Mid-managers at technical colleges are not as involved in programming for students and, perhaps less valuing of the opportunities for student development as a result. They are less involved in institutional policy formulation than their counterparts at other institutions.

Points of Difference

The mid-managers in this study might have a different perception of their supervisors than those in Scott's (1978) study. Scott contended that supervisors were not well qualified in their assigned area of supervision and that they did not command the respect of the mid-managers working for them. The data from the current study indicate that mid-managers value the support and respect of their supervisors. Although they might not be receiving that support from qualified supervisors, it seems unlikely that they would value it so strongly if the mid-managers viewed their supervisors as professional incompetents.

A second difference exists with Scott's (1978) view about mid-managers' professional involvement. Scott argued that mid-managers seek involvement in professional organizations to compensate for a lack of respect on their own campuses (see Chapter 7). The respondents in this study valued the support and respect of colleagues and superiors on campus more than the support of the colleagues outside the institution. Although this value cannot be equated with the amount of available support, the data still indicate a presence of support and a locus of involvement on campus rather than off campus.

The career advancement issues raised by this study provide some direction for the mid-managers' supervisors. Our mid-managers were not long tenured in their positions. They saw little opportunity for advancement at their present institutions, and, while many were willing to relocate if necessary, most of the respondents did not wish to leave higher education to advance their careers. Many of them aspired to the dean or vice presidential level, but the data indicate that they are not receiving either released time or financial support to pursue advanced degrees.

This study suggests answers to some important questions about student affairs mid-managers, but those answers are tentative until subsequent studies confirm them. Some other questions have been raised by the research findings. Opportunities for further research include a more complete examination of the freedom and flexibility issues raised by these data, a consideration of the views of faculty and senior administrators about mid-managers, and a longitudinal study of their career development issues and reward.

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Chapter 5

Through the Looking Glass: A Case Study of Perceptions of and about Mid-managers

Frances Lucas

The effectiveness of student affairs mid-managers often depends upon the perceptions of the people with whom they interact. Faculty, students, and administrators from other areas of the college can have varying perceptions of the role as well as the importance of the student affairs mid-manager. This chapter explores the variety of perceptions about student affairs mid-managers at one institution, Baldwin-Wallace College (BWC), and compares them with perceptions of mid-managers at other colleges and universities.

Survey Results

Baldwin-Wallace College is an independent liberal arts college with 4,500 students and is located in a suburb of Cleveland, Ohio. Seventy-one percent of the faculty is tenured and many faculty have worked at the college for most of their career. The national phenomenon of the aging faculty is evident at the college—most of the faculty are over the age of 50. To determine the variety of perceptions about student affairs mid-managers, all the full-time faculty at BWC were surveyed. Sixty-eight faculty returned the surveys, for a response rate of 50 percent.

A student affairs mid-manager at Baldwin-Wallace College was defined as an administrator who supervised several people and controlled a line budget within the division. These administrators include veteran and new professionals at the college. Of the 12 mid-managers fitting the definition, one has a doctorate, six have master's degrees, four have bachelor's degrees, and one is a nurse practitioner. Two mid-managers are currently enrolled in master's degree programs. Reporting to the 12 mid-managers are 21 other full-time administrators, 105 support staff members, and 2 graduate interns. All the mid-managers meet weekly and work closely with the vice president for student affairs, the first female vice president in the history of the college. All 12 of the mid-managers returned the survey for a 100 percent response rate.

Most BWC students come from middle-income homes within an hour's drive of the college. Many have blue-collar backgrounds and approximately half are first-generation college students. Of 150 students surveyed, 127 completed and returned the forms (85 percent).

Certain areas of high student traffic (i.e., the dining hall and the residence halls) and student organization meetings were targeted for distributing and collecting the surveys. The student organizations were Student Senate, Program Board, Black Student Association, Commuter Activity Board, International Student Association, Continuing Education Non-traditional Students Organization, and Panhellenic and Interfraternity Council. Because areas and meetings were targeted for distributing the surveys, the sample was biased toward students who lived in residence halls, ate in the dining hall, or joined organizations.

The survey was also sent to all the administrators who were not in student affairs but who had similar budgetary and management responsibilities to those of the student affairs mid-managers. These 45 other administrators included personnel from offices dealing with business, development, computers, food service, and enrollment management. There was enormous variety in their ages, backgrounds, responsibilities, and interaction with the functions of student affairs. Thirty-two of these administrators returned the surveys for a response rate of 71 percent.

Importance of Mid-managers to Student Experiences

One of the survey questions addressed the importance of the work of the student affairs mid-managers at BWC. All the respondents were asked to rate the work of the student affairs mid-manager as "extremely important," "important," "sometimes important," or "not important" to the student experience. All 12 mid-managers selected the response "extremely important" (see Table 1). These perceptions differed significantly (Chi Square $p = >.01$) from the faculty, other administrators, and students. However, approximately 87 percent of the other groups rated the work of the mid-managers as important or extremely important. There was no significant difference between the ratings of the faculty and students or faculty and other administrators. However, the responses of the students were significantly different from those of the other administrators. The students regarded the work of the student affairs mid-managers as more important than did the other administrators.

Table 1
Percentages and Analysis of Responses Concerning the Importance of the Work of Student Affairs Mid-managers to the Student Experience at Baldwin-Wallace College

	Student Affairs[1] [N = 12]	Faculty [N = 64]	Students[2] [N = 123]	Other Administrators [N = 32]
Extremely important	100%	50%	39%	69%
Important	0	38	48	19
Sometimes important	0	12	12	9
Not important(4)	0	0	2	3

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[1] Chi Square = $p > .01$ with all other groups
[2] Chi Square = $p > .05$ with "other administrators"

Open-ended Comments. The faculty added many comments about the importance of student affairs mid-managers to the student experience, focusing on their importance in meeting nonclassroom needs. The faculty comments ranged from positive support of the extracurricular experience at BWC to the negative view of one faculty member that, "At best they can help those students who should be under close psychological supervision. Otherwise, they are a distraction to why we are here."

Some typical comments from the students were: "Each [mid-manager] I have dealt with has taught me something." "This campus wouldn't function smoothly without them." "They seem to be there when I need them." "They are a great resource." Nonresidents might have fewer contacts with student affairs mid-managers and less upon which to base an opinion about the importance of those administrators at the college. One such student stated, "I am a weekend student and have had no contact with them."

Comments from the other administrators were also oriented to the cocurricular and extracurricular roles of the student affairs professionals. For example, one of these administrators said, "The mid-managers most directly shape the living/learning environment. A poor job on their part would severely hinder faculty in trying to do theirs." Another administrator noted the institution's obligations to student affairs work stating, "At a private college costing over $10,000, students deserve much more than academic assistance. We need to be concerned with every aspect of a student's environment."

Equality with Faculty

Respondents were also asked if the work of the student affairs professional was "more important," "equally important," or "less important" than the work of the faculty.

None of the faculty thought the work of student affairs professionals was more important, and none of the student affairs mid-managers believed it was less important than the work of the faculty. The faculty rated the importance of the work significantly lower (sig. = p>.01) than did the mid-managers. However, two-thirds of the faculty indicated the student affairs mid-managers work was equally important to the work of the faculty (see Table 2).

Table 2
Percentages and Analysis of Responses Comparing the Importance of the Work of the Student Affairs Mid-managers to the Work of Faculty Members at Baldwin-Wallace College

	Student Affairs[1] [N=12]	Faculty[2] [N=65]	Students[3] [N=121]	Other Administrators [N=32]
More important	33%	0%	19%	3%
Equally important	67	63	72	75
Less important	0	37	9	22

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[1] Chi Square = p > .01 with faculty and other administrators
[2] Chi Square = p > .01 with student affairs mid-managers and students
[3] Chi Square = p > .05 with other administrators

Though almost three-fourths of the other administrators believed the work of student affairs mid-managers was equally important, approximately one-fourth believed it was less important than faculty work. On the other hand, students responded much like student affairs mid-managers. Nineteen percent believed the work of student affairs mid-managers was more important than the work of the faculty, and only 9 percent indicated the work was less important. There was no significant difference between the answers of the students and those of the student affairs mid-managers. However, the answers of the students differed significantly from those of the faculty (p = >.01) and other administrators (p = >.05) (see Table 2).

Open-ended Comments. Three of the mid-managers stated that their work was more important than the work of faculty members. Their comments were introduced with confessions of professional bias and followed with positive statements about the role of student affairs in shaping real world skills; a role which might not be filled by faculty, at least not in the minds of these mid-managers. The following is illustrative: "It is my biased perception that student affairs educates students by creating and enhancing skills necessary for survival in the 'real world' which is not always the case with classroom material."

Nine of the 12 mid-managers believed their work was equally important to the work of faculty and cited the amount of time students spend outside the classroom as the major reason for this belief. This belief was also related to the experiential issues of student development—"sexuality, racism, sexism, etc."—that were considered more critical to the lives of students than in-class issues.

Though one-third of the faculty viewed the work of the mid-managers as less important than their own, the student affairs mid-managers were delighted that two-thirds of the surveyed faculty had rated the work of student affairs mid-managers as equally important to faculty work. They thought most of the BWC faculty perceived student affairs as an ancillary endeavor at the college and would rate the work of the mid-managers as less important than their own.

Among the faculty who rated student affairs work as less important, many still emphasized the importance of student affairs in their open-ended comments. For example, one wrote, "I believe the work of student affairs is important, even vital to the institution, but the main work of the college is academics and that is provided by faculty."

A few of the faculty members who rated student affairs work as less important were unimpressed with its scope. One faculty member said, "The student affairs focus takes away from the serious activity of learning and makes that experience less important than other considerations." Another considered the student affairs mid-manager as a "a necessary evil on a campus today. I would like to believe that conscientious faculty would fill most of these responsibilities, but the facts indicate that the faculty cannot and some of us are unwilling to try."

Of the faculty who rated the work of the mid-managers and faculty as equally important, many noted the synergy of student affairs and faculty operations. One faculty member wrote, "The college experience is a total experience where academics and social activities overlap. Students need to learn in both areas." Another added,

> The better the out-of-classroom experience, the better the in-classroom functioning. The opposite fits my assumption of reality, too. If students function well in class, they are moved to test their knowledge outside the classroom, but not necessarily on the campus. The latter is especially true of commuters and those who hold off-campus jobs.

Most of the comments from students shared the view that student affairs and faculty should both help students to learn more about themselves and society, and to create new attitudes and ideas. Many students commented similarly to one who stated, "If students weren't happy with their personal lives, it would be difficult to study and learn."

Nineteen percent of the students contended that the work of the student affairs professional was more important than the work of faculty members. One offered the following rationale, "Because 80 percent of learning happens outside the classroom, these people help you use and develop important skills. They guide you and influence you as individuals." This comment paralleled those of the mid-managers who rated their work as more important than the work of the faculty.

The students who thought the work of student affairs mid-managers was less important than the work of faculty members were in the minority (9 percent). Their comments paralleled those of some faculty that academic life supersedes cocurricular efforts. For example, "Faculty members are more important because they educate us. Student affairs educate us socially, but it's not as important." Another factor in this rating might have been the lack of contact between commuter students with student affairs professionals that was noted earlier. The commuter students were not as familiar with the mid-managers and offered fewer comments about their work.

The open-ended comments of the other mid-level administrators were similar to the faculty comments. Holistic education was the rationale for the ratings of those administrators who thought that the work of the student mid-managers and faculty was equally important. Typical responses cited the "mental, physical, emotional, social, and spiritual" education of students. These respondents recognized that such education takes place all around campus, at all hours. Twenty-two percent of these administrators perceived the work of the faculty to be more important and they seemed to share the opinion that, "A college exists to educate, that means teach." Less blunt was the viewpoint of one staff member who said, "A college can exist without student affairs, although the quality of the overall experience would be negative."

The Effectiveness of Student Affairs Mid-managers

Another survey question asked, "To what extent do you perceive these student affairs mid-managers [listed by name] to be effective in serving the students at Baldwin-Wallace College?" Possible responses were "extremely effective," "effective," "somewhat effective," "not effective," and "I don't know enough to answer the question."

Sixteen percent of all the respondents (20 percent of the faculty, 17 percent of the other administrators, and 15 percent of the students) stated that they did not know enough to rate the effectiveness of the mid-managers. These "don't know enough" responses were not included in the statistical analysis of the answers to this survey question.

All the student affairs mid-managers rated their colleagues. Two-thirds rated them collectively as extremely effective and the other third rated them as effective. The answers of the student affairs mid-managers differed significantly from those of faculty (sig. $= p > .01$), students (sig. $= p > .05$), and other administrators, (sig. $= p > .05$) indicating that the mid-managers believed their work to be more effective than did the other groups. Nevertheless, a majority of all the respondents reported that the mid-managers were effective or extremely effective (see Table 3).

Open-ended Comments. The open-ended comments from the student affairs professionals were uniformly positive, citing hard

Table 3
Percentages and Analysis of Responses Evaluating the Effectiveness of Student Affairs Mid-managers in Serving the Students at Baldwin-Wallace College

	Student Affairs[1,2] [N = 12]	Faculty [N = 65]	Students [N = 121]	Other Administrators [N = 32]
Extremely effective	66%	19%	26%	20%
Effective	33	48	50	20
Somewhat effective	0	11	9	7
Not effective	0	1	1	0
Don't know	0	20	15	17

[1] Chi Square = $p < .01$ with faculty
[2] Chi Square = $p > .05$ with students and other administrators

work, attention to detail, concern about wide varieties of problems, and administrative freedom as the causes for their effectiveness. However, one mid-manager noted, "Our work is effective for the majority, but small, less noticeable groups [of students] often fall through the cracks."

Some of the faculty used information from students to rate the mid-managers. Effective appraisals were followed by comments such as, "I almost never hear any criticism of these people" and "Some students have glowing reports about these professionals."

The most glowing evaluation seemed to be, "They are a great group of caring and professional people, whose hearts and hands are in the right place." Yet, some other faculty were less certain that the mid-managers cared effectively for students. One said, "The mid-managers know the social, rather than the 'professional' aspects of student life. The students need professional development and they are saturated with the hold me, feel me, touch me stuff."

Accessibility was a critical factor in the students' praise or criticism of the mid-managers. Some felt the mid-managers were more interested in student welfare than the faculty were; for example, "I know of cases where students were readily helped and their situations were resolved by student affairs people, and other cases where students were treated as lower-class citizens by the faculty." Others complained they didn't know who the mid-managers were or what they did.

The other administrators also commented about the accessibility of student affairs staff, offering different impressions of their approaches to students. Some praised a proactive approach to student affairs work, citing its impact on the generation of an environment of caring at the college, but two administrators said, "Student affairs is reactive, not proactive," and "the feeling of 'connectedness' and involvement within the student population is not as desirable [as it could be]."

Additional Survey Questions

Perhaps the most intriguing response from the students was to a question whether they would consider doing similar work as the student affairs mid-managers listed in the survey. Seventy-one percent said yes. Those students related this interest to their experience at the college. For example, "I want to impact students like these people have impacted me." They also spoke about caring for others and giving back to the college; two concerns that are rarely attributed to students today. One student said, "Helping students along their academic path would be the greatest gift I could give back to the school that means so much to me."

Of the students who did not want to do similar work, many commented about their lack of patience or stamina for the work. One said, "It would be too much hassle," and others "just never considered it."

Getting Started in the Field. The mid-managers were asked to describe their reasons for being attracted to the student affairs profession. Their responses included: liking students, enjoying the age group of the majority of students, being in the creative environment, being in a helpful atmosphere, having chances to educate, being admired by students, having a chance to contribute, being able to shape a young person's life, having a chance to change the system, having the opportunity to make a difference, and enjoying the freedom the profession provides.

Leaving the Field. They were also asked what factors might cause them to leave the profession. The two major factors were burnout and low salaries. Burnout was feared due to long hours, overextension, and stress. One mid-manager said he would leave only if he could find a way to positively affect people's lives with less stress and more financial reward. Another mid-manager joked that she would leave the profession only if she won the state lottery.

Career Mobility. The mid-managers were asked if, five years ago, they would have predicted they would be doing what they are doing now. Eight said yes and four said no. Three of the no respondents predicted they would be managers in fields outside higher education. When asked if they planned to hold the same position in five years, three answered yes, five answered no, and four were undecided. The five negative respondents were looking for more advanced positions in higher education. Their response is consistent with information presented in Chapters 2 and 4. One of the undecided respondents was unclear about his desire and potential to earn more money outside higher education. Another undecided was unsure if she could balance the demands of rearing children with the demands of being a department head.

Factors Affecting the Productivity of the Mid-managers. The mid-managers said the job environment factors that encourage their highest productivity are: receiving support from other student affairs staff; having freedom to operate within given guidelines; having adequate resources; feeling valued and appreciated; seeing the impact of education; being in a friendly atmosphere; being around a pleasant office, campus, and colleagues; sharing compatible philosophies; receiving positive feedback; and having limited interference. These factors are comparable to the data in Chapter 4 about the importance of support from the supervisor, opportunities to influence policy, respect from colleagues, and freedom on the job to mid-managers in private colleges in Ohio.

The mid-managers said the job environment factors that discourage their productivity are: overwork, unreasonable and/or unclear expectations, no feedback, lack of privacy to do work, an atmosphere valuing financial issues above personal growth, lack of support, insensitivity of family members about their involvement in campus activities, too much supervision, and lack of proper resources and space.

Interviews

After the surveys were compiled, follow-up interviews and discussions were held with a representative sample of each of the four subgroups. Interviews were conducted with 16 faculty members from various disciplines. These faculty were randomly selected from each academic discipline area listed in the campus telephone book. The faculty were contacted and interviewed, if they were willing to participate in this phase of the study. All 12 of the student affairs mid-managers were interviewed, and representative samples of 14 students and 14 other administrators were selected for interviews.

Faculty Interviews

The interviews with faculty yielded interesting responses, in part because the responses could be related to the attempts of mid-managers to gain acceptance by the faculty. According to Scott (1978), such attempts might not be uncommon: "Generally the status and role of the collegiate middle managers is subservient to others, especially faculty" (p. 15). Scott added,

> Faculty seem to regard the growing ranks of collegiate administrators as a "not quite necessary evil." The critical campus organization for faculty is the department, which usually is small, possesses highly defined goals, and is unencumbered by much administrative apparatus. The need for large central staffs is not always apparent, or justified. (p. 44).

The interviews with the faculty indicated that student affairs professionals have gained a great amount of credibility on campus in recent years. One music professor said that in his 20 years of teaching, he had seen positions within student affairs move from being considered "necessary evils" to "respected resources." His opinion began to change when he started to teach a freshman experience course. The professor never realized that there were people "getting master's degrees to learn about the aspects of student growth that I, myself, have never been able to figure out."

Many older faculty remembered the days when academicians were called upon to serve as deans of students at the college. The academicians accepted this responsibility with the enthusiasm and trepidation of youngsters being drafted into the armed services. They knew it would be dangerous and that they were not prepared for the experience, but nonetheless they considered it an adventure. Unfortunately, many rejoined the academic ranks as disillusioned as returning soldiers from the war.

The majority of the interviewed faculty appeared to have a much better grasp of the student personnel point-of-view than the student affairs mid-managers would have guessed. Comments such as "the whole education of the student is extremely important" were frequent in the interviews of faculty.

However, all the interviewed faculty were surprised by the survey return rate (50 percent) and by the percentage of faculty (63 percent) that perceived the work of student affairs mid-managers to be equal to the work of the faculty. The surprise seemed to stem from a perception that faculty think their work is more important than the work of anyone else in higher education.

Most of the interviewed faculty expected the faculty ratings would be lower. They reported that the Division of Student Affairs at BWC was viewed as a dispensable service area. The faculty also reported that earlier surveys of their attitudes about student affairs had been greeted with disinterest or nonsupport, perhaps reflecting this negative attitude about the Division of Student Affairs at BWC.

Mid-manager Interviews

Conversations with the student affairs mid-managers revealed some insecurities about their relationships with the faculty. One mid-manager said,

> Though I know there is no logical reason for it, I still get intimidated when I am around faculty members. Their voice seems to matter

> the most around here, even if they are talking about my area and don't know what they are talking about.

But there was optimism among other mid-managers about the faculty viewpoint. A young mid-manager said,

> For two years in graduate school, I was told that the faculty will rarely understand what I do and most will think my role is unimportant. Therefore, I am pleasantly surprised that two-thirds of the faculty think our work to be equally important. Most faculty are supportive of what I do. When a faculty member seems not to appreciate my work, I can't tell if it is because I am young, or a woman, or because I'm in student affairs.

The mid-managers gave substantial credit to a College 101 course for the improved image of their work. This course was initiated four years ago. It has increased the interaction between student affairs professionals and faculty members. Several College 101 professors had taught for many years at the college, but they had never paid much attention to the students' development of social and interpersonal skills. Now, some of them are using the mid-managers as a resource for class discussions on topics such as dating, sex, eating disorders, and sexual identity. After intimate personal stories of freshmen unfold in the College 101 classes, the telephones in the counseling center, residence life office, and health center begin to ring. Business professors and art teachers call, wanting to know how to follow up on tough topics and whether to say anything to a student with a problem.

Student Interviews

When students were interviewed about their views of student affairs mid-managers, they tended to talk about the two or three mid-managers they knew best. One student said, "These are the people who can read my mind, so I don't get so embarrassed about what I'm not saying." Many students commented that the student affairs people were always friendly and easy to talk to. Another added, "Even when they are super busy and swamped, they make time for me." A different viewpoint came from one student who said the mid-managers were so busy that it was hard to get an appointment to see them.

The students said the mid-managers were caring, accessible, and knowledgeable. One student stated, "Our student organization would be in absolute chaos if it weren't for their guidance." Another added, "If they don't know the answer, they know who will."

Interviews with Other Administrators

The other administrators outside student affairs made some interesting observations during their interviews. One said, "We are all in this together. Without residence life, counseling, etc. . . . it would all go flat like a souffle." This observation was related to the practical interests of a person who worked in development. He said, "The student relationships that student affairs professionals foster are often more lasting in the minds of students. Those strong relationships yield good alumni and potential support for the institution."

Summary

This case study has provided a collection of viewpoints about the role of the student affairs mid-manager at a private college. The role seems to be perceived differently by various groups. Some students (19 percent) viewed the role as having much more importance than did faculty and other administrators. However, faculty report that the role has increased in significance during the last 10 years and other administrators see considerable value in the role of student affairs mid-managers.

Two-thirds of the faculty believe the work of the student affairs mid-manager is equally important to their own. This belief surprised the mid-managers and the faculty who were interviewed. No one expected such a positive appraisal. Still, there was a significant number of faculty who did not consider the work of the mid-managers to be central to the mission of the college.

Many students appreciate the work of mid-managers, sometimes more so than the work of faculty. Some students would consider choosing student affairs work as a career, as a result of their personal experience at the college.

The accessibility of mid-managers led to more positive student appraisals of their work. Accessibility also seemed important in faculty appraisals. The College 101 course increased the number of interactions between student affairs mid-managers and faculty and, thus, the apparent regard that faculty held for mid-managers at the college.

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Chapter 6

Professional Development and Career Issues for Mid-managers

D. Stanley Carpenter

A naive reading of the professional career path literature in student affairs would produce the impression that the only types of positions that matter are at the entry level and the chief student affairs officer (CSAO) level. Entry-level professionals are important to the field (Carpenter, 1990) and so are CSAOs (Paterson, 1987), so it is understandable that information about these positions has been gathered and reported.

However, mid-managers are crucial to the profession as well. Where, then, is the literature concerning them and their career development issues? Such writing is found in the context of the other two types of articles and chapters or buried between the lines of cautionary often negative writing concerned with burnout (Forney, Wallace-Schutzman, & Wiggers, 1982), attrition (Bender, 1980; Arnold, 1982, Rickard, 1982), and style (Wood, Winston, & Polkosnik, 1985).

This shortage of literature does not mean there is no guidance for mid-managers as they fashion their careers. To the contrary, a wealth of advice exists which is usually gathered unsystematically and often regarded as tacit. This chapter codifies some of this knowledge and puts it into a framework of professional development.

Career Issues for Mid-managers

Mid-managers face many issues that affect their career development. Among these issues are limited upward mobility, changing role responsibilities, and the transferability of skills to diverse settings within student affairs and outside higher education. Some of these issues have been detailed in previous chapters, but their reintroduction in this chapter illuminates the need for a professional development model that organizes the career possibilities of student affairs mid-managers.

Anyone aspiring to a career in student affairs must confront a bottleneck of positions above the entry level (Carpenter, Guido-DiBrito, & Kelly, 1987). That is, there are fewer and fewer positions available as one advances, with the actual count of CSAOs bounded by the number of universities in which the position exists. In practical terms, mid-managers may feel "stuck" (Kanter, 1977, p. 136) for some period of time in an undesirable situation as a result of factors in the job market completely beyond their control.

Synthesizing and interpreting student affairs career path research (e.g., Evans & Bossert, 1983), it appears that relatively flat organizational structures, lack of comparability among job descriptions and institutional types, salary-to-moving costs ratios, and regional economic climates, among many other things, can conspire and combine to limit personal opportunity. Mid-managers might find that the only moves open to them are lateral ones, with no gain in salary or responsibility. A lateral move may or may not result in professional growth, but is likely to be risky and expensive.

Complicating the already confusing job market situation is the change in the nature of the practice of student affairs as more responsibility is gained (Stamatakos, 1978). Entry-level practice typically involves direct service to and contact with students. Many people enter the field with this contact as their goal—they feel a desire to help, to serve. Mid-managers, however, are usually just that—managers. New duties in the areas of budget, personnel supervision, planning, internal and external communication, and policy making are seen as taking away from the service function. Such a responsibility shift is normal and common in other professions. However, some people never adjust to the change, choosing to spend entire careers at the entry level or to leave the field in disillusionment.

The responsibilities of mid-managers are affected by the settings in which they work. Mid-managers might work within a specialized setting in student affairs such as housing, financial aid, or counseling, with each of these subdivided into more operational versus more service-oriented positions within certain institutions. Another setting is in the central office where mid-managers focus on coordination, communication, allocation of resources, and research to facilitate service delivery and to influence the overall educational environment. Also, student affairs work may be very different at a comprehensive university than at small liberal arts college or at a community college. Each of these distinctions affects what the involved administrators perceive to be student affairs mid-management.

Rickard (1988) masterfully captured the diversity in student affairs practice settings in arguing against a conception of so-called "unitary" (p. 388) professionalism. However, a careful reading of Knock (1988), Young (1988), and the CAS Standards (Council for the Advancement of Standards, 1986) points out that celebrating diversity need not mean abandoning teamwork and affiliation. A professional consciousness for student affairs implies that there is a central crystal through which light going in variegated directions is focused into a laser beam aimed at intentional student development. In other words, despite the diversity of settings, certain specified skills, knowledge, and values are necessary for effective student affairs practice (NASPA, 1987). Mid-managers in student affairs may experience greater or lesser difficulty in transferring these skills across settings based upon personal predisposition, the nature of specialized knowledge required in given settings, and the prejudgments of hiring organizations and persons.

The transferability of student affairs skills, competencies, knowledge, and values is not necessarily limited to the various settings of professional practice. The bottleneck problem and other career issues alluded to above are usually handled through self-selection; that is, many choose to leave the field in the early or middle part of their careers. Carpenter, Guido-DiBrito, and Kelly (1987) noted an almost startling similarity between the abilities of successful student affairs professionals and the attributes and skills called for by management literature aimed at the success in business.

With patience and some retooling, student affairs people can expect to find a position outside the field (Carpenter, Guido-DiBrito, & Kelly, 1987). The presence of this option might cause confusion in some and ebullience in others. About the only generalization that can be made is that, for a mid-manager, staying in student affairs probably involves option costs and these must be measured periodically. There is a model of professional development, described in the next section, that can serve as a scale for measuring the skills and options of student affairs mid-managers.

A Model for Professional Development

An argument can be made that student affairs constitutes a professional community involving three sets of commonalities: shared goals and objectives, the existence of formal and informal sanctions, and attention to socialization and regeneration (Carpenter, 1983). According to Miller and Carpenter (1981), this means that human development principles can be applied to professional development just as they can in the larger community, leading to the basic proposition that "professional development is continuous and cumulative in nature, moves from simpler to more complex behavior, and can be described via level or stages held in common" (Miller & Carpenter, 1981, p. 84).

Four such stages have been proposed and supported by research (Carpenter & Miller, 1981; Wood, Winston, & Polkosnik, 1985):

- Formative Stage: including graduate and/or paraprofessional preparation

- Application Stage: encompassing beginning and intermediate practice and further preparation
- Additive Stage: involving intermediate to upper-level practice and policy-making responsibility and increased professional sharing
- Generative Stage: spanning upper-level practice through retirement and attained by only a select few who influence the entire profession.

Each stage implies developmental tasks to be accomplished in (flexible) sequence. Failure to accomplish early professional development tasks leads to the inability to reach higher stage levels, in much the same ways indicated by human development theory.

The Carpenter and Miller (1981) model indicates that mid-managers are typically in the mid to late Application stage or the early Additive stage. They are dealing with the issue of commitment to the profession and will usually have made (or be making) a decision as to whether further education or increasingly responsible experience is the best way to progress. Mid-managers who have been successful thus far will probably have a clear understanding of both strengths and shortcomings, will have a growing sense of the shape of their future, and will know how to work within or around the system, whether this means the campus or the profession. They will usually have responsibility for significant amounts of resources and personnel and know what is required to accomplish goals. Mid-management in student affairs, as in many other fields, is the backbone of the profession. Without competent people at this level, no student affairs organization can function optimally.

Seven Areas of Developmental Activity

The Carpenter and Miller (1981) model can be applied further by structuring a series of professional development activities for mid-managers using Pavalko's (1971) profession-occupation continua. Carpenter (1980) used these continua to identify tasks that were appropriate for student affairs professionals in different stages of professional development. The following discussion is based on the author's research, personal experience, and observations of student affairs professionals. It presents the continua as seven different areas of professional development and identifies tasks for mid-managers in each area.

Knowledge of Theory and Levels of Skill. By this point in their careers, mid-managers will already have learned much of what they need to know about student affairs practice. Perhaps the most important thing is that middle-level professionals should not forget the way(s) they learned what they know. Learning how to learn should come fairly early in a career. Each person uses a combination of peer interactions, literature, workshops, and experience to improve practice. Changes in setting, role, and responsibility level might dictate continuing education and learning, but the necessity for continuing competence should be reason enough to seek additional knowledge and skills.
Sample developmental task: Recognize the necessity to attend a workshop or read a new book on higher education law to stay current in the area.

Clarification of Motivation and Relevance to Society. The struggle in this area is to avoid cynicism and an overly narrow identification with a specialty within the profession. A successful mid-manager will have learned already that the world is not perfect. New values and different priorities may have emerged for mid-managers who have generalized administrative responsibilities as opposed to specialized student service delivery. Others face the danger in becoming so adept at working within a specialized system that they embody its imperfections. To counteract this, the overall missions of the institution and division must be kept in mind at all times. Students and student groups must be treated as if their presentation of any given problem is unique—after all, for them, it is. Similarly, professionals must be careful not to succumb so completely to any sector of the institution that they forget proper allegiance to professional values. Bureaucratic efficiency may not be a good measure of professional effectiveness.
Sample developmental task: Overturn a subordinate's discipline

decision based upon the consideration of the educational consequences for the student involved.

Decisions Regarding Preparation and Career. While the mid-manager will have made a decision to stay in student affairs past the entry level, this decision must be made repeatedly. The changing nature of mid-manager's practice means a periodic examination of his or her commitment to the field is necessary. This scrutiny is not necessarily bad for the person or the profession.

More specifically, the mid-manager must make a conscious choice about whether to remain at the middle level or to attempt to continue to climb. One of the worst aspects of the focus in the literature upon CSAOs is that, by implication, all positions short of the top are devalued (Brown, 1987). However, personal preferences in lifestyles, geography, responsibility level, job tasks, and many other things make mid-management an attractive alternative to the CSAO position for large numbers of professionals.

Another area of decision concerns enrollment in advanced formal education. The variety and quantity of management responsibilities separate the mid-manager generalist from the entry-level specialist. Increases in these responsibilities require significant learning on the part of the mid-manager; however, success in a student affairs career in the long term may depend upon increases in formal education and the attainment of a doctorate (Paterson, 1987).

Sample developmental task: Make a lateral career move in order to work on a campus where it is possible to undertake part-time doctoral study.

Autonomy of Professional Behavior. Professionalism implies autonomy of practice based on expertise and authority. The mid-manager must develop confidence in his/her opinions, decisions, and actions. Frustration sometimes occurs because mid-managers feel they are placed under undue constraints by the institution, supervisors, subordinates, or limited resources. This complaint is common in any organization that contains professionals (e.g., hospitals). Institutional goals and professional values sometimes conflict, and a suitable framework for accommodation must exist.

Professional practice involves taking risks based on judgment. Ideally, the mid-manager will work in an environment where there is a balance between the challenge of making tough decisions and the feeling of support engendered by a knowledge that mistakes are expected and accepted as facts of life.

Sample developmental task: Convene a division-wide task force to draft a policy on confidentiality of communications with students.

Developing a Sense of Professional Community. A successful mid-manager will have created a network of colleagues on campus, regionally, and (usually) nationally with whom they share affinity and values. Assuring that this network remains dynamic and stimulating is a challenge. Throughout one's career, depending on setting and needs, new professional associations may be appropriate and some old ones, however comfortable, abandoned. The mid-manager will also become aware of leadership opportunities in professional groups and should participate in these roles when possible (see Chapter 7). Mid-managers should realize they are the embodiment of the profession to younger staff, students, and others, and conduct themselves accordingly.

Every campus has some mid-managers outside the division of student affairs who can serve as valuable resources for those within our profession (see Chapter 3). These other mid-managers can assist with the resolution of problems in day-to-day administration, and they have skills and knowledge that are extremely valuable for student affairs mid-managers to acquire.

Peer relationships within the division are important, yet student affairs mid-managers may sometimes feel more competitive than cooperative, especially in times of resource constraints. This competition is usually poisonous to staff teamwork and should be avoided, possibly through attention to the superordinate goals of the division and the institution.

Sample developmental task: Take a leadership role in a state, regional, or national professional association.

Activities Related to Professional Publications. Without professional sharing, there would be no profession. Most mid-managers are aware of the function of the literature in forming professional opinions and gaining new insights and ideas. Staying informed is critical to professional competence, but it is just as important to contribute to the literature when one has something to share. A physician who discovered the cure for cancer would be labeled irresponsible if the treatment were not shared. Student affairs professionals have a similar duty to one another. The mid-manager should be moving from "just reading" journals to publishing them.
Sample developmental task: Publish an article detailing an on-campus application of research.

Developing a Sense of Ethical Practice. There are formal and informal rules in student affairs, as there are in any other profession. One of the main rules, as in most human services professions, is that the rules are ambiguous. Mid-managers should be growing increasingly comfortable with professional ethics, to the point of contributing to policy formulation and supervising the ethical practice of others. Mid-managers will often be called upon to make ethical judgments about ambiguous issues. To do this properly, they should be very aware of their own personal and professional values as applied to practice (Young & Elfrink, 1989). Mid-managers may notice that their focus is broadened and, thus, their values are changed if they move from the practice of a specialty to more generalist administration.
Sample developmental task: Mediate a dispute between a counselor and a residence hall director regarding a student/client/resident.

Implications for Mid-managers

Summarizing this section on professional development leads to the following implications. These implications might apply to many people because they fit a context of general human development (Carpenter & Miller, 1981) as well as the specific field of student affairs work:

- Preparation is continuous. To stop growing and learning is to stagnate and die professionally.
- It is possible to get too much too soon, taking on positions that are too demanding can result in frustration and incompetence. An optimal balance of challenge and support (Sanford, 1967) must be found.
- Professional development and preparation are the responsibility of the individual.
- An integral part of professional practice must be the creation of an environment conducive to professional development for all.
- Professional association and publication activities are critical if one is to stay aware of contemporary issues in student affairs.
- Careers should be structured intentionally. That is, logistical and personal factors, while very important, should not be allowed to dominate professional development and appropriate career moves.

Mentoring and the Career Development of Mid-managers

Mentoring is a poorly understood yet widely discussed concept in student affairs. While definitions of mentoring vary, most deal with some sort of power or age differential existing between the mentor and recipient (Kelly, 1984; Keele & DeLaMare-Schaefer, 1984). Mentoring is often used synonymously with sponsoring and sometimes with networking.

For this discussion, mentoring should be thought of as being a general term including aspects of sponsoring and networking and encompassing informal contact between and among professionals which is helpful in job performance, career moves, information seeking, leadership and publication activities, and other aspects of professional development. The following discussion of mentoring contacts—up from supervisors, down to subordinates, and around with peers—is based on the author's interpretation of research, personal experiences, and observations of student affairs professionals.

Up: What the Mid-manager Should Expect from the Supervisor

A competent role model. The supervisor should be someone the mid-manager can learn from in terms of leadership style, expertise, management skills, and/or career issues.

Respect and compatibility. The mid-manager should feel comfortable with the supervisor in professional interactions. Mutual honesty and openness should be present, with strengths and weaknesses assessed clearly and regularly.

Support for growth. In areas where the mid-manager is growing, the supervisor should be willing to facilitate the process by having reasonable expectations, being supportive, and providing resources (i.e., travel money, time, and personal attention) to the professional growth of the mid-manger.

Support for decisions. The mid-manager should feel that reasonable decisions and actions will be supported if they are called into question. Generally, disagreements should be explored in private.

Autonomy. The mid-manager should be able to exercise reasonable autonomy in accomplishment of goals.

Support for personal values. The supervisor should respect reasonable differences in lifestyles, family values, and working styles.

Appropriate sponsorship. The mid-manager should be able to expect that the supervisor would be willing to aid in finding professional growth opportunities as opposed to thwarting them.

Pushes and pats on the back. The supervisor should encourage and reinforce career advancement, professional development activities, and skill acquisition.

Down: What the Mid-manager Should Give to Subordinates

All of the above. Obviously, mid-managers should be willing to give the same that they expect from supervisors.

Environmental correction. If any of the conditions detailed in the above section are not present for the mid-manager in relationship with a supervisor, this deficiency should be compensated for rather than allowed to go down another level.

Openness about the profession. The mid-manager will have already made (at least preliminarily) a decision to stay in student affairs. Some subordinates may be exploring options. Mid-managers should support this process by being willing to present both positives and negatives of the profession.

Involvement in professional opportunities. Mid-managers' subordinates may not be aware of the range of activities that could aid their growth. As mid-managers participate in associations and publish in the literature, they should endeavor to involve those with less experience as appropriate.

Expectations of professionalism in practice. This is implied by the other items noted, but cannot be overemphasized. Lowering standards and compensating for weakness without concomitant growth requirements are prescriptions for disaster personally, organizationally, and professionally.

Enthusiasm. Mid-managers should be strong models of positive commitment to the profession. Tired mid-managers need to get refreshed or get out.

Around: the Importance of Peer Interactions, On Campus and Off

Reality and idealism checks. While things are rarely as bad as they seem, sometimes they are. In either case, perspective is needed and trusted, unbiased colleagues are the best sources of this perspective.

Resources. Colleagues are an excellent source of information, new techniques, and fresh approaches. A profession is characterized by sharing rather than competition. We all grow from free interaction and multiple creativity. This open atmosphere should be maintained even when mid-managerial units are competing for budget funds. All "fighting" should be by the rules and professionally handled.

Synergy. Most people have a need to feel that they are part of something larger than themselves. In professional terms, it is very helpful, even comforting, to know that one is not alone—that others share the trials, tribulations, and goals of the mid-manager.

Mutual sponsorship. Even though sponsorship is expected in subordinate and supervisory relationships, other agendas can get in the way. In peer interactions, mutual sponsorship can be engaged in more easily. This is true in every area of professional involvement—association leadership, career moves, publications, consulting, etc.

Friendship and support. Mid-managers may find that it is difficult for lay persons, however well meaning, to understand particular dilemmas. Peers provide valuable options for venting and advice. This includes mid-managers in nonstudent affairs settings on the campus.

Coalition building. Some issues transcend institutional boundaries, such as state laws or professional association agendas. The only way to effect change in these instances is to band together with colleagues in other settings.

Additional Concerns about the Mentoring Process

To this author, mentoring is more properly professional sharing than a process in which senior professionals somehow pick the objects of their favor and give out advantages based on mysterious criteria. Any professional who has information or skills not commonly possessed should make an affirmative effort to share them. By implication, then, the capacity to mentor and to benefit from mentoring grows and changes with one's career. Clearly, mentoring deserves attention from all professionals as yet another arena in which intentional professional development occurs.

Differing views of organizational loyalty and political styles affect mentoring. People are more willing to sponsor and network with others when their own political futures within the organization are not involved, i.e., when they can fully disclose their opinions and beliefs without losing status. While it is wise to be reticent in specified circumstances, professional behavior means foregoing some personal status needs when it comes to sharing with colleagues. Being professional does not mean ignoring self-interest, but it does mean putting the best interests of the profession ahead of selfish advancement. Professionals make judgments on the merits of a situation, not on the basis of personal expediency. All of the bases for different judgments must be shared with mid-managers if true mentoring is to take place. Mid-managers must be aware of the full range of value conflicts inherent in organizations. They must learn to mediate between and among the demands of institutional, professional, and personal goals and objectives. The true mentors of mid-managers are open and honest colleagues.

Concomitantly, mid-managers should be careful of imposing their opinions on others. An alleged mentor who is excessively cynical as a result of over-commitment or burnout is unlikely to be in a position to provide a good example or wise counsel to anyone, especially younger, impressionable colleagues. Mid-managers should therefore know when not to be a mentor. Realistic advice is good; negatively skewed, totally subjective criticism of the profession is not. A professional evaluates the overall situation before offering counsel, regardless of current personal circumstance. Finally, mid-managers should help less experienced professionals properly evaluate what might be called negative mentoring.

The mentoring process as experienced by women and minorities deserves special mention. According to widely held opinion (e.g., Keele & DeLaMare-Schaefer, 1984; Lee, 1980), women and minorities do not participate in mentoring relationships as frequently as nonminority males. While this has been challenged by at least one study (Kelly, 1984) for women in student affairs, it may be regarded, at a minimum, as a concern for all professionals.

Affirmative action must be construed by student affairs to mean more than aiding underrepresented populations in obtaining positions. Rather, mid-mangers should strive to maximize professional development opportunities and strategies for entry staff in the profession, and senior professionals must reach out to mid-managers who are different from them. At the same time, women and minorities should be assertive in finding mentoring relationships, just as potential mentors should not restrict their help to any certain type of person.

Professional Development and Personal Issues

Mid-managers are typically people in their late 20s to early 40s, although there are many exceptions. The personal issues of people in this age range include: self-concept, values, relationships, physiological concerns, leisure, role changes (such as child to parent, parents becoming dependent as they age, etc.) and impact of career decisions (Van Hoose & Worth, 1982; Cook, 1983; Lidz, 1976). Very generally, it is possible to organize these concerns by saying that vocational and marital decisions reflect the entire personality development (Lidz, 1976) and that the overall issues are intimacy, commitment, and (for older mid-managers) generativity (Erikson, 1963). In other words, professional development is linked to general development concerns.

Based on a synthesis of research and observation, the author believes that personal and professional developmental tasks and stages tend to interact in clusters, some of which are noted below.

Confirming and Challenging One's Identify in Life and Career. Mid-managers often find that they are feeling better about themselves than ever before, because they have influenced important endeavors, they have established families or other comfortable lifestyles, and they are nearing the accomplishment of long-held goals. In short, they may be hitting their stride for the first time. One danger is complacency, the feeling that everything will take care of itself, resulting in inattention to personal and professional growth. Developmental theory indicates that growth is continuous and cumulative. Personal and professional development must receive consistent attention.

Paradoxically, the best course of action will sometimes be to recognize the need to plateau and integrate growth and change. An intentional pause for rest and self-examination is valuable. Mid-managers should also be aware that they may experience feelings that success is not enough, that potential has not, and may never be, fulfilled, and that their achievements have met some external rather than internal agenda (Levinson, 1978).

Competence and Security Issues. In almost no other area of one's psychology are personal and professional development so closely linked. Many mid-managers tend to define their personal competence and security by performance in their careers. On the other hand, as professional development can be thought of as a subset of global development, so is professional style subsumed by personal behavior. Insecurity is often systemic, and a person who is incompetent in dealing with people outside the work environment often has difficulty on the job as well. The good news is that efforts to improve in either area can have salutary effects on the other one. For example, a seminar on effective communications with coworkers might improve interactions with family members.

Fast Track versus Passed By. Comparing one's career path to that of others can have a hazardous effect upon development. Mid-managers who stay at the mid-level for a significant period of time, for any number of good reasons, are particularly susceptible to self-doubts as they watch colleagues climb the ladder in the profession. Certainly, every situation is different and opportunities are not evenly distributed, but this is cold comfort when friends and peers seem to be advancing more quickly than oneself.

Acceptance of realistic professional achievement, given circumstantial constraints and personal preferences, is a troublesome developmental task requiring every ounce of positive self-concept and sophisticated self-awareness that can be mustered. Mid-managers must come to terms with the idea that they have some level of control over their own careers and that they are choosing an entire lifestyle, rather than becoming bitter over the feeling that the career has stalled due to uncontrollable factors. It may be useful to make a periodic (every two years or so) list of all choices (geographic, family, working conditions, etc.) that are being made in order to identify options, risks, and comfort levels.

Commitment is a strong developmental thrust for the mid-manager, on several fronts. Family and career need not be at war; rather, accomplishment and development in each can be seen as part of a seamless whole, with commitment playing a synergetic role.

Dual Career and Other Family Issues. The popular press as well as the professional literature have brought this area to the forefront of consciousness. Career moves, once made virtually alone (stereotypically) by the professional, are now subject to the emotional, economic, career, and geographic needs and preferences of spouses, children, and other significant members of family units. Shifts in responsibility, stress, time requirements and many other factors vary depending on the position and these things should be discussed and negotiated among family members, mid-managers, subordinates, and supervisors.

Again, the best way to handle the often conflicting demands of career and family is to gain a clear sense of personal goals while recognizing that a delicate balance has to be maintained between personal and professional choices if self-resentment or family resentment is to be avoided. Also critical is an appreciation of the developmental needs and goals of the significant others of the mid-manager.

The Nature of "Real Life" for Student Affairs Professionals

Student affairs professionals work in the environment of higher education which is often derided as an "ivory tower," divorced from the hard times of real life. Undeniably, colleges and universities differ from other organizations in American culture. Different values are held, different behaviors are rewarded and punished, and different goals are accomplished. However, higher education is not separate from the surrounding milieu, but rather a component of it.

If human development theory and research provides beneficial information about professional development (Carpenter & Miller, 1981), then radically different modes of functioning in career venues, as compared to other areas of life, are neither necessary nor appropriate. The confrontation of developmental tasks and crises, risk-taking behaviors, decision-making styles, and general openness to experience that are the keys to healthy personal development are also required for successful professional development, and vice versa. This transferability of skills and knowledge is incorporated into the purposes of higher education after all; the lessons learned in college are presumed to transfer to the rest of life, even though those lessons are taught in an allegedly unreal environment.

More fundamentally, the author believes that, for the college student, higher education is the real world, the only world. The same is true for the mid-manager. Student affairs is a real profession, and the mid-manager is heir to the same kinds of work-related problems and joys as anyone else in any other occupation or profession. There are rules to learn and follow, there are sanctioned behaviors, and there are successes and failures, rewards and costs. Student affairs mid-managers who overemphasize a mythical dichotomy between professional activities and real life, whether the comparison is positive or negative, run the risk of limiting their development in one or both.

Conclusion

Some mid-managers might ask, "What's the bottom line of this chapter on our career development?" The premises of professional growth in this chapter are the same as those of human development theory: that an identifiable sequence of developmental stages and tasks exists and that efficacious development requires awareness and intentionality in a context of balanced challenge and support (Sanford, 1967). Simply put, mid-managers and successful professionals at all levels must strive to understand their own development and make choices to enhance it. The bottom line is that professional practice and development are too important to be left to chance.

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Chapter 7

Professional Development Strategies

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Editor's Note: This chapter has a different style than the preceding ones. The authors talk directly to you, the mid-manager, instead of referring to you in the third person. They want to engage you in a personal discussion about a) their conception of mid-managers as leaders, b) institutional programs for professional development, c) professional associations, and d) the role of a doctorate in your professional development.

At this point in your development, you might perceive professional development activities as involving many choices with a variety of potential outcomes. Your choices might range from hearing a speaker on your campus to resigning from a well-paying, responsible position to seek a doctorate and live on graduate student wages.

We want to help you organize your choices and formulate a professional development strategy appropriate to your needs. We shall present three areas where strategies are needed: institutional programs, professional association involvements, and doctoral study. In each of these areas, we talk about your goals, outcomes, types of involvement, and constraints against involvement. But whatever the areas you emphasize and strategies you choose for your professional development, they should be based on the knowledge that you are already a leader as well as a manager at your institution.

Build on a Foundation of Leadership

You are at the heart of the student affairs division. You recruit, train, supervise, and develop new professionals. You are in a position of responsibility and authority in which you are developing policy, mentoring to staff, and becoming deeply involved with students. You are a conduit between senior staff and entry-level professionals, between student affairs and other divisions, and between upper-level administration and students. More than other staff, you have your fingers on the campus pulse and are able to interpret the heartbeats you receive. You know what students are saying and feeling; you know the levels of commitment exhibited by staff; and you are aware of morale and other issues among faculty and staff. To deny ample professional development opportunities to you would gradually, if not quickly, diminish the capacity and effectiveness of your student affairs division and your institution.

Your various roles as a mid-manager are greatly affected by the complexity of your institution and student affairs division; the size of your institution; the number of faculty, staff, and students; and the job functions assigned to you. Whatever your milieu, we believe you have an excellent opportunity within these roles for leadership beyond management.

Green (1988) said leadership "provides shape, direction, and meaning" while management connotes "the mundane, the operational, the ability to get things done toward the accomplishment of a predetermined goal" (p. 16). We also find value in the distinction that Bennis and Nanus (1985) made between leaders and managers:

> By focusing attention on a vision, the leader operates on the emotional and spiritual resources of the organization, on its values, commitment, and aspirations. The manager, by contrast, operates on the physical resources of the organization, on its capital, human skills, raw materials, and technology. Great leaders often inspire their followers to high levels of achievement by showing them how

> their work contributes to worthwhile ends. It is an emotional appeal to some of the most fundamental of human needs—the need to be important, to make a difference, to feel useful, to be part of a successful and worthwhile enterprise (pp. 92-93).

Institutional Professional Development Programs

Above all else, if a professional development program with breadth and depth is to be successful on your campus, it is imperative that your chief student affairs officer (CSAO) support that program and that he or she be supported by your institution's chief executive officer, both in philosophy and budget. Without this support, it is unlikely that a comprehensive professional development program can be developed and sustained.

We think many presidents and CSAOs are not meeting their responsibilities for your professional development. In 1987, McDade stated, "Professional development for mid-level administrators is in the same disorganized state as that of senior level executives" (p. 89). While much has been written in recent years on professional development, we know of few well organized, comprehensive, institutional programs. It seems ludicrous to us that many institutions of higher education do not fully staff and fund professional development programs as "planned experience(s) designed to change behavior and result in professional and/or personal growth and improved organizational effectiveness" (Merkle & Artman, 1983, p. 55).

Institutional Program Goals

Supervisors must be concerned with the professional development of their staff, and they should begin by involving all the staff in the identification of the goals of a comprehensive professional development program. The goals of professional development for mid-managers might include "professional and/or personal growth" (Merkle & Artman, 1983, p. 62); increased knowledge and skills (DeCoster & Brown, 1983); "general professional growth, refinement of existing skills, and acquisition of new skills to meet changing needs" (Canon, 1980, p. 447); and, "career enhancement" (McDade, 1987, p. 91).

From our readings and discussions with colleagues, we find these goals similarly stated from one campus to another and across entry-, mid-, and senior-management lines. They can be summarized as this: To provide opportunities that enhance competency and skills in specific job settings and to respond to identified or perceived staff needs.

We think departments and divisions should relate the goals of any professional development program to their (and the institution's) mission statements. Staff development programs enable these administrative units to be responsive to their stated missions as well as to the needs of the constituent members (faculty, staff, and students). This builds their credibility, and thus their potential financial support, among upper-level administrators.

Outcomes of Institutional Programs

In addition to the outcomes that are implied in the goals of institutional programs, we think your leadership interaction with colleagues will be enhanced through your participation in these programs. Through your commitment to professional development you provide leadership for colleagues in your department and division. Your commitment to your own development also models appropriate behavior for students, underscoring the importance of lifetime learning for them.

Participating in a professional development program can also produce benefits in your personal life. Deegan and Fritz (1975) related personal development goals to a person's desire for growth in a technical or professional career, a managerial career, or as a total person. We agree with Deegan and Fritz (and with Carpenter in Chapter 6) that your personal goals relate to your professional goals. For example, the goal to reduce your stress level is both personal and professional. You should consciously try to understand the relationship between your personal and professional goals and develop both at the same time, whenever possible.

Types of Involvement in Institutional Programs

Our review of the literature has revealed a shotgun approach to professional development programs on most campuses. Most programs are planned to meet perceived needs that are not assessed formally. We think you should develop an accurate, personal needs assessment before you partake in activities that are supposed to meet your needs.

Get Involved at the Outset: Know What You Need. Broad division- or institution-wide goals need to be supported by programs that are based on your needs and evaluated for their impact on you. You need to be involved in the staff development planning process to ensure that programs are developed to meet your particular needs. Otherwise, you are left to the speculation and interest of others about meeting your needs.

A positive relationship with your supervisor is important if your needs are to be met through an institutional staff development program. You will need the support of your supervisor so that time and funds may be made available to develop and support a program for you and other mid-managers. In some cases, you may need to be the catalyst to get a program developed, further emphasizing the need for a positive relationship with your supervisor. If you do not have this positive relationship and cannot build one, then you should work collectively with other mid-managers to support the development of a division-wide program that transcends any individual personalities and relationships.

We also assume that if your professional needs are to be satisfied, or the needs of a program or a student affairs division, a formal assessment of professional development needs should be conducted. The assessment can occur in a number of ways: one example would be through your performance review process. This process provides you with an excellent opportunity to explore your perceived personal or professional development needs with your supervisor. You and your supervisor can highlight your needs that are or are not being met by current institutional programs.

Through this review or other assessments, you should identify specifically what your needs are (i.e., knowledge and skills), what resources are available to meet your needs, what your supervisor sees as needs, what your subordinates see as needs, and how you can determine your goal accomplishment at the end of a specified time period.

We want you to consider using a systematic approach for diagnosing your individual development needs and activities, in particular, one that Moore (1987) used to identify the professional development levels of different staff and to prescribe specific educational activities in keeping with those levels. This approach "provides a method of planning for the professional education of staff at all levels within an institution" and it identifies "gaps in the programs and structures of professional education within the entire field of student affairs" (Moore, 1987, p. 27). Its strength, however, lies in its diagnostic capacities for particular professionals. Moore's model can be used to determine your particular needs and the educational activities that can meet those needs; this determination can make it more powerful than a "one size fits all" approach to the development of student affairs practitioners, regardless of professional level.

Consider the Following Activities. We also want you to consider three particular strategies for development that can be supported by your institution. The first strategy involves a professional exchange of staff. The second maximizes the development that can take place through professional performance evaluation meetings. The third involves institutional support for your doctoral study, which seems to be lacking in many institutions according to the information in Chapter 4.

Consider taking part in a professional exchange program (Aceto, Bryan, & Young, 1987). A professional exchange allows staff between campuses or within institutions to exchange jobs for a brief period of time. While the establishment of a professional exchange may not be easy due to state regulations regarding pay, time of exchanges, supervisory requirements, and travel, the potential benefits of this option warrant your attention. This option could allow you to pursue new professional interests, mentoring relationships, work environments, and responsibilities. You can build generalist skills or improve skills within a particular specialty area.

As we suggested, performance evaluations provide another important strategy for professional development. Kraus (1983) stated that performance evaluations "can serve a valued purpose by providing needed praise and, if worked into an overall evaluation scheme, may be a vehicle for tangible rewards" (p. 31). The completion of a performance evaluation takes time if it is properly done; it includes praise but it also provides a vehicle for your supervisor to suggest areas in which you need to grow. Scott (1978a) wrote that institutions should offer leaves of absence so that their mid-managers could complete their doctoral degree requirements. Scott also wrote that institutions should allow mid-managers to take graduate-level courses at no cost or at a reduced fee. We support Scott's recommendations. Institutional support can be an important factor in the completion of doctoral study, and we regret the absence of that support in many institutions (see Chapter 4). We shall address other factors about doctoral study later in this chapter.

Recognizing and Overcoming Constraints to Involvement

From our experience, the lack of commitment (philosophical, financial, personal) of your president, vice president, or direct supervisor is the most important constraint to the development of a viable institutional professional development program. Many other constraints may be evident, including your lack of understanding of professional development goals and techniques for assessing needs; your lack of involvement in the process of developing program and mission statements; your institutional setting—size of staff, location, and funding base; your personal commitment to the development of a professional development program; and your division's evaluation procedures to assess the effectiveness of programs that are developed.

On a more personal level, we recognize that some professional staff within a student affairs division (including some supervisors) may resist your active participation in a professional development program. If this is the case, your CSAO must reaffirm the value of these programs and your participation in them. If the CSAO does not support these programs then you must consider career alternatives that will enable you to grow as a student affairs professional.

However, you should not give up easily the effort to improve your own development through institutional means. By actively responding to constraints, you can be a prime mover in shaping a professional development focus and environment at your institution. Your involvement in this process may be critical to your success and to the health of your department and student affairs division. This is one example of your leadership potential as a mid-manager. You and your peers are in key positions to assess and address your needs, the needs of your departments, and the needs of the division.

Success at the institutional level is the foundation of any professional development plan, but your growth cannot stop there. Developing your leadership potential extends beyond the edge of campus. It extends to the outermost boundaries of state, regional, national, or international professional associations.

The Critical Role of Associations

Lewis (1984) suggested that the identity of student affairs work has been diluted by the creation of too many professional associations: "No one association or consortium can speak out at any given time or to any particular need or issue" (p. 20). Lewis argued that we have so many organizations and special interest groups that it is difficult for us to speak in one voice as a profession, especially through our publications. Even though these publications provide a good base of information and knowledge, "the publication and governance costs drain the finite pool of funds available" (p. 20).

We believe the development of new specialty areas and functional work settings in student affairs has created the need for separate associations and conference programs. You must keep abreast of current practices, new knowledge, and new skills as you strive to provide the high quality service which is expected of you. Local, state, regional, and national professional associations have the opportunity to "deliver systematic exposure to the literature, research, and contemporary thought that constitute the body of knowledge that gives meaning and direction to the profession" (DeCoster & Brown, 1983, p. 363). You need to examine your affiliations with associations to ensure that they are delivering that knowledge which you will need now and in the future. Within the breadth of professional associations there will surely be one or more that will address your current and future needs.

You have different affiliations with associations—some that are primary, some that are secondary. We define primary affiliations as those associations whose regional and national meetings you attend regularly. These are the associations in which you might seek leadership involvements. Secondary affiliations include those associations whose meetings you attend occasionally and/or those in which you do not seek extensive leadership involvements. Some of these associations might have been important to you when you entered the field, but your involvement with them has slipped over the years. Others might be emerging in importance as your professional goals change. You need to know which associations try to meet goals that have been, are, or will be important to you.

Association Goals

Although we believe different associations serve different audiences, the statements of associations like the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators (NASFAA), American College Personnel Association (ACPA), National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), Association of Fraternity Advisers (AFA), College Placement Council (CPC), National Orientation Directors Association (NODA), Association of College Unions—International (ACU-I), Association of College and University Housing Officers—International (ACUHO-I), and National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (NAWDAC) offer striking similarities. The mission statements of these associations indicate they are concerned with responding to issues in the field, providing expertise and knowledge to those in the field, providing ongoing associations with peers, and promulgating ethical statements and standards which cultivate professional attitudes and practices.

These general statements do not necessarily tell you which associations will produce the best outcomes from your involvement with them. You might talk with members of these associations about the benefits of membership before you join, or you might test the benefits of a one-year trial membership. At best, you would not be a passive member during that year, but one who attended conferences, read the journal if any, and explored local or regional involvements.

Outcomes of Association Involvement

The general outcome of your association involvement should be professional and personal growth (Merkle & Artman, 1983, p. 62). We believe you should also gain the following specific outcomes through your professional association involvements:

- greater awareness of the student affairs profession and the issues facing our profession
- learning and the opportunity for shaping the future through assuming leadership within an organization
- increased understanding of a particular work setting and the opportunities to apply theory to practice
- opportunities to explore and respond to current issues (networking)
- a sense of belonging and a focus on common goals
- increased awareness of professional identity—who you are as a professional
- increased communication skills through the publication of journal articles or the presentation of conference programs.

Types of Involvement in Associations

Professional associations vary in their structure. Some are generalist in nature such as ACPA or NASPA. These associations cover most or all functional work areas in student affairs. Other associations are specific to a single functional work area such as

NODA or the Association for Student Judicial Affairs (ASJA). Whatever their structure, associations enable their members to come together on an annual basis; provide development programs, workshops, and conferences; offer publications such as journals or monographs on specific topics; and have a variety of special committees, task forces, or commissions that assist in carrying out their missions. DeCoster and Brown (1983) stated, "Professional associations, through journals, learning packages, media aids, research reports, newsletters, and other professional publications, provide individuals with systematic exposure to current literature and research" (p. 364).

Because many associations have specific foci while others focus on more general professional interests, you may need to make important choices regarding the type of association and level of involvement that will meet your personal and professional needs. Factors that can influence your decisions include your specific responsibilities, years of professional service, degree of association involvement desired, comfort level with particular groups, geographical location of your institution, cost, and peer influence. The location of a national conference might also be a major factor in determining your attendance and involvement.

The choices you make regarding your professional association affiliations are personal. We have chosen different routes for our primary involvements: however, we both are involved with regional and national associations different from those which would be considered primary.

In one case, early collegial influence led to involvement in ACPA. Leadership positions were sought, culminating in being elected president of the association. At the same time, membership in several other associations is held and opportunities are sought to present convention programs and be involved in the work of committees and task forces. For other associations, attendance is occasional and formal leadership opportunities are not pursued.

In another case, comfort level with a group and specific job responsibilities led to primary involvement with NODA. This involvement has led to the positions of national conference program chair and membership on the Board of Directors. Secondary involvements with other associations include some leadership responsibilities and frequent conference presentations, but not to the extent of the primary involvement.

As a result of your various involvements, you might become an expert with special knowledge or insights, present programs or deliver papers, organize and conduct workshops, or serve as an external evaluator for a university's program (DeCoster & Brown, 1983). You might become a leader through membership on committees, involvement in commissions, or serving as an officer.

As you explore professional associations, you might find that your counterparts (other mid-managers/leaders) are the leaders in many associations, instead of entry-level professionals and chief student affairs officers. From our experience, it appears that entry-level professionals spend several years growing in knowledge, gaining credibility, and increasing their personal levels of association involvements. CSAOs have often already risen through the association ranks as their levels of campus responsibility have increased and they may or may not sustain the levels of association leadership responsibilities that they provided earlier in their professional careers. As a result, mid-managers are called on to provide the time, energy, and leadership necessary to move professional associations forward. Thus, your leadership potential extends beyond the campus, to the entire profession.

Recognizing and Overcoming Constraints to Involvement

There are institutional and personal constraints to your involvement in professional associations. Some of the institutional constraints require new strategies in order for you to overcome them. For example, retrenchment has cut some division budgets and, thus, financial support for attending national conferences. As a result, you might choose to focus on local, state, or regional associations that don't require as much financial support. Or, you might choose to pay for your own travel to a national conference that is important to you.

We hope you don't have to make such choices for financial reasons, and we hope that you will be a leader who challenges institutional or divisional policies that cut travel funds for professional meetings. The professional development benefits accrued from membership in professional associations are so important that travel dollars are still warranted for these activities even when there are budget constraints. The learning, networking, and rejuvenation that result from conference attendance may improve staff morale and performance, thus justifying the expenditure of scarce dollars. One valuable piece of information or idea you receive from a journal or a convention program might be well worth the total cost of your membership in an association or the cost of your attendance at a professional meeting. Now might be the time to remind your supervisor of the tangible benefits of the conference that you attended last year; establish a consistent, annual record of those benefits and you might be able to maintain the budget for professional memberships and conferences.

A lack of comfort can be a personal constraint against your involvement in professional associations; you may not know how to get involved or you may not feel secure and/or confident in doing so. To overcome this constraint, you may want to consider attending conferences with colleagues whom you know. You may be more comfortable by beginning your involvement at the state or regional level. As you increase your confidence, you may want to present a program with a colleague. Association involvement, especially leadership, might involve some risk taking, but the risks should not restrict your participation.

The Role of the Doctorate

We agree with Scott (1987b) that "collegiate middle-managers are oriented to serve faculty and students, committed to a career in the institution, and satisfied that they are competent and achieve desired results in challenging work" (p. 9). We also agree with Scott (1987b) that collegiate mid-managers "are extremely frustrated by not being taken seriously, by the lack of recognition of their accomplishments, by low pay, by the lack of authority that accompanies their responsibility, and by the lack of direction given to them" (p. 9).

Any one of these circumstances can influence one of the most difficult personal/professional development decisions facing you—that is, whether to pursue doctoral study. The doctorate might be tied to your internal advancement, regional/national mobility, salary increase, levels of responsibility and authority, credibility, personal growth, recognition, satisfaction, and status. Before you decide a doctorate is or is not important, it would be helpful to explore the goals of doctoral study, the outcomes of receiving a doctorate, types of involvement in doctoral study, and ways in which you can overcome the constraints against doctoral study.

Goals of Doctoral Study

We believe that a doctoral program should be designed to strengthen, broaden, and enrich a student's knowledge and skills. While we would suggest an academic focus on higher education administration, completing a doctoral program in the field you choose should

- enhance your writing and critical thinking skills
- help you develop research skills
- enable you to use your research to develop an identity as an authority in a specific area
- expose you to the breadth of knowledge and experiences that are needed for the successful management of a student affairs department or division
- develop and sharpen your leadership skills.

You must decide how these goals relate to our short- and long-term professional goals.

Outcomes of Receiving a Doctorate

A doctoral program should fulfill the educational goals listed above. We would not be surprised if you were also interested in holding a doctoral degree for increased job satisfaction, academic credibility, promotion or advancement, financial rewards, increased professional mobility, and status.

Today, the doctorate is often required for meeting the minimum qualifications for many positions that may be of interest to you. However, your doctorate is not a universally recognized passport to success. It might not seem significant to others in higher education and it does not guarantee that you have improved your professional skills.

According to Scott (1987b), you should be cautious in trying to use a credentialing process to achieve status. Scott pointed to student affairs work as his example of how specialized training and degree programs have provided few professional or institutional rewards:

> Student support services are [still] one of the first areas to be cut in retrenchment because there appears to be an endless need for them, there are conflicts of opinion about who should pay for them, there is no way of telling when enough are offered, there are no objective methods to evaluate whether or not they are successful, and there is no compelling argument that these services must be provided by specialists (Scott, 1978b, p. 31).

Canon (1982) expressed a similar opinion about the ability of the doctorate to satisfy the needs of student affairs staff for professional credibility and development of skills:

> It seems worth noting that divisions of student affairs have marched to the inexorable lockstep of higher education in general, passively accepting the notion that possession of a doctorate is essential to full participation in the academic community. I can see little evidence to support the notion that directing a campus recreation program, or a financial aid office, or a campus union—among other various substantial responsibilities—is in any way enhanced by the occupant of the position holding a terminal degree (p. 471).

These perspectives can be balanced by, first, reviewing the requirements of regional accrediting agencies which clearly specify that a wide variety of student services be provided at institutions. Second, the publication of standards by the Council for the Advancement of Standards/Student Development Services (CAS) provides further documentation not only that an array of quality services must be provided, but also that professional staff must be appropriately trained to provide those services. Third, the doctorate is the highest degree in higher education and, for that reason alone, provides some increased credibility with faculty and students. Finally, a glance at the position announcements each week in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* indicates that the demand for highly qualified persons with experience and terminal degrees in student affairs is constant. We believe that the process and experience of earning a doctorate will assist you in increasing your skills and opportunities as a leader in higher education.

Types of Involvement

Opportunities for full-time study will probably be restricted by your personal, family, financial, and professional commitments. Engaging in full-time study can increase real hardships but it can also expedite the process of attaining a degree. Some full-time study is required by many programs; the question then shifts from "Shall I study full time?" to "When shall I study full time?" That requires answers to the following questions: Do you intend to stay in your current position? If so, what resources are available to assist your study? What financial resources do you have? Is it better for you to go full time during coursework, the proposal stage, or the dissertation research stage? What will be the impact of your decision on others within your family unit?

Recognizing and Overcoming Constraints to Involvement

The questions listed above relate to some of the job and family constraints to doctoral study. Some of your job-related constraints for pursuing doctoral study might include current job situation; size, type, and location of current institution; location of doctoral degree granting institution; support from supervisor; intended field of study; and commitment to program completion. Your decision becomes increasingly complex upon consideration of your personal/family constraints, the cost of obtaining a degree in dollars and in time, and the lack of a guarantee regarding your future advancement or mobility. These complexities can best be illustrated through the following brief scenarios:

Scenario #1. Ron is the director of the career planning and placement center at a small, rural liberal arts college. His staff consists of a half-time secretary. He is 28, married, and has one young child. His wife is a part-time math instructor at the same college. Ron would like greater responsibility, more money, and a large college experience. The nearest doctoral degree-granting institution with a program in higher education is one and one-half hours away, and has a one-year residency requirement. The CSAO has indicated that whatever Ron can do at night or on weekends is fine, but should he decide to leave for a year, his job would have to be filled with no guarantee of it being available on his return.

Scenario #2. Patricia is a 32-year-old dean of students at a medium-sized, state-supported university. She is single and a homeowner. The nearest doctoral degree-granting institution (which has no higher education program) is three and one-half hours away and has a one-year residency requirement. She knows that she wants to be a vice president for student affairs, but questions her ability to do a dissertation. Her supervisor, the vice president, is very supportive and is willing to explore a leave of absence or a job exchange for her with another institution.

Scenario #3. Tim is the director of the student union at a large, doctoral degree-granting university. He has held this position for 12 years. He is 42 years old. Tim is married and has three children. His wife owns a jewelry store in town and is, therefore, committed to staying in the community. Tim is considering doctoral work for personal enhancement and status, knowing full well that the current administration is committed to replacing any vice presidents from outside the institution.

Interpreting the Scenarios. In the first scenario, Ron would probably have to quit his current job to pursue doctoral study. Finances would be a major problem. Institutional support appears to be nonexistent. In Ron's current situation, the sacrifices necessary to pursue the doctorate would be immense. To overcome these constraints, Ron and his family need to make some difficult decisions and possibly take some risks. First, Ron might want to assess the feasibility and risk of leaving for a year and seeking an assistantship at a doctoral institution while his wife continues to teach part time. Since he wants experience at a large school, he might consider applying for full-time positions on a part-time basis later. For him, the personal and financial sacrifices might be overwhelming, especially in the short term. Family counseling might be advised to clarify the priorities and impacts of the alternative strategies on Ron and his family.

The second scenario raises concerns about finances, commitment, and the intended field of study. On the positive side, Patricia could take a leave of absence, rent her home for a year, then return to her current position and attempt to complete her coursework and to write her dissertation on the job. She might also try to get a vice presidency without having a doctorate. Patricia might want to consult with her supervisor and colleagues on campus to ensure that support, time, and technical assistance would be available for completing her dissertation. She may also need to consult with student affairs colleagues from her own or another institution regarding the difficulty of completing a dissertation while holding a full-time job. She might find a mentor who completed the degree this way and who could help Patricia determine the impact of her alternatives on her job situation and personal life.

Tim's situation is quite different from the other two. His goal is not to move upward but to improve his academic and professional status. Being locked into a specific community, it is unlikely that he will change jobs; of the three people described, he might have the best chance of getting the degree, due to his having few, if any, constraints preventing him from pursuing the doctoral degree.

As the authors of Chapter 4 suggested, Tim might be able to take advantage of a staff benefit at his institution that would pay his tuition for his doctoral coursework. This would eliminate some of the financial burden of study. However, it might be more difficult to pursue full-time study at home, where normal family obligations and concerns about the job can prevail over a person's commitment to academic improvement.

If you decide to pursue doctoral study, you should be creative in your method of overcoming constraints and be dedicated to your goal. In many institutions, a leave of absence is acceptable if not encouraged, and a job exchange could provide a creative method of reducing the financial burdens of doctoral work. You will need to explore such creative measures, since your decision process will be more complex and risky than it is for the entry-level professional.

Summary

In this chapter, we introduced the concept of the mid-manager as a leader because the functions you perform involve strong leadership skills. Proactive development of college students, policy design, supervision of staff, delegation of responsibility, manipulating the collegiate environment, creating change, and doing more with less, all require the development of some level of managerial and leadership expertise. As a leader, you have significant responsibilities for your own growth and development. Although it is imperative that your chief student affairs officer encourage and support your professional development activities, it is also important that you take advantage of developmental opportunities to ensure that your needs and those of your staff are being met.

You should help to develop a comprehensive professional development program on your campus that increases your knowledge, management and leadership skills, competency, creativity, credibility, job satisfaction, motivation, commitment, and job performance. Your involvement in local, state, regional and/or national associations should result in broadened perspectives, professional renewal, networking, program presentations, recognition, development of standards, increased learning and personal growth. Your successful pursuit of the doctoral degree might promote job advancement, regional/national mobility, increased salary, credibility, status, personal satisfaction, and greater responsibility and authority.

We have raised several important issues in this chapter which we want to highlight:

- Providing adequate financial support for a comprehensive professional development program for mid-managers/leaders is crucial to the effectiveness of the institution
- Mid-managers are leaders within their departments, divisions, institutions, and professional associations
- Organizational/institutional variables such as size, location, mission, and complexity of the institution might influence the breadth and depth of a professional development program for mid-managers/leaders
- Performance reviews/appraisals offer an excellent opportunity for assessment of personal and/or professional development needs
- Professional associations must continually assess and address the development of mid-managers/leaders, including methods of delivery of services and programs to ensure that institutional and/or budgetary constraints do not negate the opportunity for learning and involvement
- Budget limitations should not discourage professional association involvement, instead, priorities might need to be studied and reordered
- Mid-managers/leaders who desire to pursue a doctorate need to be extremely creative as they explore the complexities and risks involved
- To attract a greater number of high quality candidates, doctoral preparation programs should consider ways of making degree attainment more feasible for mid-managers/leaders who are geographically, financially, or institutionally restricted.

Institutions of higher education, professional associations, and doctoral preparation programs must grapple with these and other issues as they attempt to meet the needs of this generally dedicated, caring, competent, and important population—the student affairs mid-manager/leader.

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Chapter 8

Making the Most of Mid-management

Robert B. Young

More than a decade ago, Scott (1978) wrote *Lords, Squires, and Yeomen,* still the definitive work on mid-management in higher education. Virtually every chapter in this publication contains a reference to Scott's research, though it is difficult to determine whether these references reflect the power of that research or its solitary place in our literature.

Scott's findings were based on an extensive literature search, a research questionnaire, and structured interviews with administrators and faculty at 18 colleges and universities. The chapters in this monograph are based on different information: an institutional case study, a survey, personal opinion, and extensive literature reviews. The authors of these chapters have offered conclusions that confirm and contrast with those of Scott. Their conclusions help distinguish student affairs mid-managers from other mid-managers in higher education.

Scott (1978) described higher education mid-managers as hard working, reliable, but generally invisible people who control the routine operations of colleges and universities. The authors of Chapter 7 offer the following quotation:

> Collegiate middle-managers are oriented to serve faculty and students, committed to a career in the institution, and satisfied that they are competent and achieve desired results in challenging work. But they are extremely frustrated by not being taken seriously, by

> the lack of recognition of their accomplishments, by low pay, by the lack of authority that accompanies their responsibility, and by the lack of direction given to them (Scott, 1978, p. 9).

This image seems less robust than the image of student affairs mid-managers that is offered in this publication. Information in Chapters 4 and 5 provides an image of student affairs mid-managers as influential, respected, and autonomous in their institutions, despite the role conflicts in their jobs that are described in Chapter 3.

Differences with Other Mid-managers

Influencing Policy. Scott contended that mid-managers implement the policies their supervisors create. In contrast, student affairs mid-managers in Ohio rated the ability to influence policy as one of their most important sources of satisfaction. It was the top source of extrinsic satisfaction for mid-managers in three very different types of institutions: public universities, church-related colleges, and technical colleges. Forty-two percent stated that they participated in institutional decision making. Although their actual influence on institutional policy was not observed by the authors of Chapter 4, both the amount of perceived influence and the satisfaction with that influence were greater among the Ohio student affairs mid-managers than a reader of Scott would expect.

Relationships with Others. Scott was concerned that mid-managers were not respected on campus, and, in Chapter 3 Penn shares his concern that role ambiguities and conflicts could have a negative impact on the campus relationships of student affairs mid-managers. Poor on-campus relationships could lead to burnout and the loss of self-esteem among our mid-managers.

Penn reiterates Scott's suggestion that mid-managers get involved in professional organizations to compensate for a lack of respect on their own campuses, yet the respondents in the Ohio study valued the support and respect of colleagues on campus more than the support of their colleagues outside the institution. Presumably, the latter colleagues would be found through involvements in professional associations. However, it cannot be determined whether the support of colleagues off campus was evaluated through limited or substantial participation in professional associations. Therefore, as with many of the preliminary findings in this monograph, additional research is needed—in this case, to determine the extent of participation of student affairs mid-managers with colleagues off campus.

The Respect of Faculty. The mid-managers at Baldwin-Wallace College received significant support from others at the college, including faculty and other administrators as well as students. This support seemed to refute Scott's beliefs about the invisibility (or even disparagement) of mid-managers in colleges and universities.

Scott (1978) contended that faculty distrust all mid-managers, and, given the habitual suspicions of student affairs practitioners, one would assume that faculty distrust our mid-managers as much as any group of business or academic administrators. However, the student affairs mid-managers at Baldwin-Wallace College received significant respect from faculty. This might be influenced by the size of that institution, its curriculum, or the personalities of the chief student affairs officer and other individuals at Baldwin-Wallace. However, the amount of this respect surprised both the faculty and student affairs managers at that institution. That surprise indicates that other student affairs mid-managers might be equally (and pleasantly) surprised by the amount of respect they get from faculty at their own institutions when objective measures of that respect are taken. Otherwise, they are left with subjective impressions that are based on contacts with a few faculty at their institutions.

Autonomy and Supervision. Professional autonomy might be synonymous with dispirited isolation if it is not affirmed through cooperative relations with others, especially supervisors. Scott (1978) found that mid-managers were satisfied with the opportunity to act independently in their jobs but their relationships with others needed improvement. In Chapter 4, institutional autonomy was ranked as the third most important source of intrinsic satisfaction by the mid-managers in Ohio, and, as stated above, the overall picture of their relationships with others seems far brighter than the picture Scott painted.

The most critical relationship seems to be with the supervisor. Scott argued that supervisors are not well qualified in their assigned area and that they do not command the respect of the mid-managers who work for them. The information in Chapters 2 and 4 refutes this notion. In Chapter 2, Benke and Disque list the qualifications of chief student affairs officers (CSAOs) to supervise mid-managers. Their review of the research dispels the notion of amateur supervision in student affairs administration. They seem to confirm the presence of a capability that Carpenter says should be first and foremost for the supervisor of mid-managers: to be a competent role model (see Chapter 6). Data in Chapter 4 show that Ohio mid-managers value the support and respect of their supervisors. It is unlikely that they would respond as positively if their supervisors were incapable in their roles.

Some Similarities with Other Mid-managers

Role Conflict. In Chapter 3, Penn notes similarities between student affairs mid-managers and those in Scott's study. Penn writes about the conflicts between service- and control-oriented responsibilities, staff- and student-centered work, specialized function tasks and divisional responsibilities, and dependence and independence. He contends that mid-managers in student affairs must relate these conflicts to the diverse roles of counselor, administrator, and student development educator. Penn seems to suggest that our mid-managers have to resolve more conflicts and ambiguities than other middle administrators who do not have such diverse roles.

Satisfactions. The Ohio administrators in the survey and case study don't seem to be a burned-out, stressed out group. Their sources of satisfaction seem to fit Herzberg's (1959) "motivating" factors, higher order sources of satisfaction, more than "maintenance" factors, survival sources. For example, opportunities to influence policy are more important than salary to these administrators and influencing student development is the most important factor of intrinsic satisfaction on the job. Student affairs mid-managers find diverse and significant sources of satisfaction in their work, especially through their work with students.

Scott (1978) found that mid-level administrators were satisfied with their opportunities to help students and staff, and the mid-managers in the Ohio study rated their role as student development educators as their most important source of intrinsic job satisfaction. Their success as educators was evident at Baldwin-Wallace where their work was prized by students to the extent that some students wanted to become student affairs administrators. The size and residential nature of Baldwin-Wallace might have been a factor in this; commuter students at that college seemed less satisfied with their dealings with student affairs professionals than residential students.

The priority of student development educator might differentiate our mid-managers from other mid-managers and from other student affairs administrators. Other mid-managers might not have as much direct student contact; faculty and staff might be their primary service groups. Even though the discussion in Chapter 1 focused on the administrative aspects of mid-management, including staff and program supervision, such considerations might need to be modified given the primary role of student development. While mid-managers have more administrative responsibilities than entry-level staff who focus on counseling, their educational role might also differentiate them from chief student affairs administrators. The educational role might integrate and resolve role conflicts for student affairs mid-managers.

Career Mobility. Their sense of satisfaction does not mean that student affairs mid-managers are unwilling to improve their lot through career mobility. They like their institutions, but they expect to move. Career aspirations seem to be similar among different types of mid-managers, raising a question whether this is due to their responsibilities or ages. Carpenter notes that most student affairs mid-managers have left the starting gate in their careers and in their personal development. Age forces an interest in mobility issues, encouraging or preventing the respective mobility of younger and senior mid-managers. Data in Chapter 4 indicate that the youngest student affairs mid-managers are far more willing to move than their oldest counterparts.

Conclusion

This section could not conclude with a reminder of the generally low regard that Scott seemed to have for student affairs work. In Chapter 7, Bryan and Mullendore note Scott's opinion that

> Student support services are one of the first areas to be cut in retrenchment because there appears to be an endless need for them, there are conflicts of opinion about who should pay for them, there is no way of telling when enough are offered, there are no objective methods to evaluate whether or not they are successful, and there is no compelling argument that these services must be provided by specialists (Scott, 1978, pp. 30-31).

Bryan and Mullendore take exception to this comment, and they are supported by other authors in this monograph. The authors seem to conclude that the vitality of student affairs mid-managers—witnessed through their responsibilities, respect, and relationships—might enliven all mid-management in higher education. This vitality might be instructive to Scott. It might enliven and instruct the entire field of student affairs work as well. The image of Rodney Dangerfield mid-managers that was introduced in the first chapter is inappropriate. The vitality and development of student affairs mid-managers are central to the profession.

Distinctions Between Student Affairs Mid-managers

In their review of the literature on mobility, Benke and Disque affirm the presence of a group of mid-level administrators more than isolated specialists. They cite the 1980 study of Janasiewicz (1983) in which mid-managers were defined as those with responsibility for one or more functional areas. Those mid-managers might constitute 32 percent of all student affairs workers. In Chapter 4, the titles of mid-managers in Ohio were relatively similar. Eighty-one percent of the survey respondents had job titles as "deans" (including assistant and associate) and "directors" (also assistant and associate). If job titles in higher education are inflating like academic grades, then today's director might be tomorrow's dean without any increase in responsibilities. Yet the shared characteristics among mid-managers seem to affirm that mid-managers comprise a special place in student affairs work. They deserve consideration in that regard as much as within any field specialties.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 affirm the definition of mid-managers as staff and program supervisors, yet that definition might be too broad for some readers, like some definitions of the American middle class that seem to include more than 90 percent of the population. The broad working definition of mid-management does not meet the biology teacher's admonition to "be specific."

Although Chapter 4 did not reveal many significant differences among mid-managers according to institutional type or size, the notion of institutional size might be associated with responsibilities in the reexamination of the definition of mid-management. A matrix might differentiate mid-managers according to high and low levels of program supervision and staff supervision. This matrix is presented as Figure 1. Managers at the upper left of the matrix might resemble many entry-level staff. Managers at the lower right of the matrix might be close to chief student affairs officers. Managers at the other corners of the grid might be mid-managers who need to develop along another administrative continuum if they aspire for higher positions. This matrix might be used in conjunction with other models (e.g., Young, 1987) to further the career development of student affairs mid-managers. For example, interventions could be planned that give mid-managers the supervisory and/or program skills they need through the educational method that is appropriate for their professional stage (Young, 1987).

Figure 1
A Matrix of Mid-managements' Program and Staff Supervision

		PROGRAM SUPERVISION	
		LOW	HIGH
STAFF SUPERVISION	LOW	ASST./ASSOC. PROGRAM DIRECTORS	PROGRAM DIRECTORS (small colleges)
	HIGH	PROGRAM DIRECTORS (Large colleges)	ASST./ASSOC. VICE PRESIDENTS & DEANS

The Development of Mid-managers

The vitality of student affairs mid-managers is linked to their career development. Chapters 6 and 7 of this monograph explore that topic in depth, but additional discussion might be offered about the relationship between mobility and the developmental issues of mid-managers.

Mobility

In Chapter 2, Benke and Disque discuss the career ambitions of student affairs mid-managers. They describe four career paths that might lead to renewal and growth. The number of paths is important since few mid-managers will be promoted within their home institutions. In Chapter 3, Penn affirms the limited numbers of opportunities for internal advancement in higher education. He believes that this has created a class of mid-managers that is locked into positions for a long period of time. The data from Chapter 4 show that mid-level student affairs professionals believe they must leave their current institutions in order to advance. Two-thirds or more of the respondents in the Ohio survey did not believe they would be considered for vertical or accrual promotions at their home institutions. As a result, their loyalty to their institutions will probably suffer. Their interest in staff development will be evaluated by its relationship to advancement more than its intrinsic worth.

Getting a Doctorate to Get Ahead

In Chapter 7, Bryan and Mullendore write that the demand for persons with experience and terminal degrees in student personnel is constant. Doctoral education is also important to their notion of educational leadership that transcends professional rank. They say that a doctorate can elevate professionals above minimal standards of competence.

Too few student affairs mid-managers get support for doctoral study. Only 39 percent of the respondents in the Ohio survey got financial support for coursework and only 27 percent received released time for that study. The percentage of financial support might be more inflated than real, since public universities can offer free tuition as an internal service at reduced costs. Smaller, private institutions might not be able to afford tuition benefits as a full cost, exported service.

Mid-managers at small colleges have to pay for their own graduate coursework and, thus, for the means for their own professional mobility. They might consider a career pit stop in public universities to get their doctorates so that they can return to smaller colleges at some higher level and some later point. However, such circular mobility would not serve the interests of these professionals, private and public institutions, or the profession as a whole. Older professionals would not seek further education through such means, other professionals would not return to small colleges where they might be most effective, and others would return bearing resentment about the limitations that prompted such drastic career strategies.

Degrees vs. Skills

In Chapter 6, Carpenter reviews the developmental needs of mid-managers. He writes about the development of knowledge and skills, and of senses of professional community and ethical practice, more than he writes about the acquisition of titles for advancement. Carpenter might believe that the former goals of learning are more evident for those mid-managers who feel competent and confident, while the latter are more important for those who feel passed by.

The development of skills is facilitated by the lists that Benke and Disque provide in Chapter 2. Nowhere else in our literature are lists available that outline the perceived skills of competent mid-managers and CSAOs. While recognizing the limitations that affect some uses of those lists, mid-managers can still be encouraged to use them as a means of assessing their professional strengths. They can be helpful in evaluating one's readiness for career advancement to new positions as well as one's competence in a present mid-management position.

The Importance of Values

Perhaps as important as degrees and skills is the development of values in mid-managers. A set of values, reaffirmed through professional inquiry, is central to the resolution of many mid-management role conflicts. Scott (1978) said that all mid-managers are faced with competing value theme dilemmas, and Penn indicates that these dilemmas might confront student affairs mid-managers more than a) other mid-managers who do not deal with student service issues and b) other student affairs professionals whose work is more institution- or student-specific, or more administratively or counseling-oriented than the work of mid-managers. Mid-managers have to choose between administrative, counseling, and educational roles. Their choices are based on the value of that role to the student and the institution.

Cervero (1988) said most situations of professional practice are characterized by uniqueness, uncertainty, and value conflict. Cervero (1988) believed that these characteristics require the skills of "reflection-in-action" (Schoen, 1987) more than prefabricated, prescribed, professional knowledge. The skills of reflection-in-action can also be called the skills of professional "artistry" (Schoen, 1987) because they reflect individual interpretations of principles and actions more than set rules of knowledge and behavior. Such artistic skills are undergirded by a sense of consistent values that guides professional decision making. Mid-managers must know when and how to choose among such important and competing values as justice, altruism, freedom, truth, human dignity, equality, and esthetics in their daily practices. An education in values might be as important to the professional development of mid-managers (and to the development of their profession) as any degree-oriented or knowledge-oriented education they could receive.

Implications for the Future of the Profession

This monograph has described the status and development of a vital corps of student affairs professionals. The authors of its chapters have described the mobility, conflicts, relationships, developmental dilemmas, and development opportunities of mid-managers in student affairs work. The implications of these descriptions of the future of student affairs work are many, and most cannot be judged correctly. Seldom do futurists describe tomorrow correctly, yet that does not keep them from their work. It simply provides a footnote of caution at the end of their predictions. With that footnote in place, the following observations are offered.

- Student affairs mid-managers seem to be a vital corps in higher education. They might be more respected, better supervised, and more influential than other mid-managers in higher education. These attributes might also distinguish them in student affairs administration. Further study is needed to verify these preliminary conclusions.
- Mid-managers face many important role and value conflicts. In addition to the conflicts that are faced by other mid-managers, our mid-managers must make choices about their roles as counselors, administrators, and educators with students. Their resolution of these choices might be instructive to the entire profession, since other profes-

sionals are more directly student- or institution-centered in their work.

- The student development educator role is the most satisfying role of the Ohio mid-managers. Active pursuit of this role might make a positive impact on the respect that mid-managers receive in some colleges. Participation in the College 101 course at Baldwin-Wallace College was a factor in the respect that faculty offered to the mid-managers there. The role of the mid-manager as educator should be studied further; it might have as much potential for the development of the field as the role of the CSAO as administrator.
- Mid-managers can mentor younger professionals about values conflicts, testing the knowledge that young professionals receive in the classroom. They can provide lessons in reflection-in-action that can be integrated with preservice education in the field. The ability of mid-managers to choose and use values in different situations is a vital resource for entry-level professionals. This ability is more than seat of the pants administration, it is the central link in the chain between general theory and unique practice situations.
- Although CSAOs are professionally trained, questions must still be raised about their particular abilities to supervise mid-managers. As Penn asks in Chapter 3, "Who teaches the mid-manager?" The development of professional artistry seems related to the success of mid-managers, and CSAOs must offer them opportunities to develop the appropriate skills. It is unlikely that graduate education will modify its modes of education in ways that help mid-managers develop their artistry on the job. A personal, mentoring relationship with a CSAO is more likely to be helpful in this regard.
- The feelings of mid-managers about their careers are intertwined with their feelings about their whole lives. Like students whose lives extend beyond the classroom, mid-manager careers extend beyond their offices. Contextual issues abound in the understanding of mid-managers. No

one-dimensional career model will fully assist them and their career decisions affect their ability to provide models of wise living for younger staff and students.

- Mid-managers are concerned about their opportunities for advancement within their home institutions. Accrual mobility is one path of professional advancement that acknowledges the particular skills of long term, individual mid-managers. However, it can also lead to excessive reliance on the personalities in, rather than the performance needs of, organizations.
- Support needs to be increased for professional development. Professional associations provide umbrella and discipline-specific opportunities for professional growth. However, the institutional loyalty and relationships of mid-managers indicate that in-house, in-service programs might be very successful.
- Institutional support is lacking, however, in regard to opportunities for development and advancement. Eventually, the perception of inadequate support in both of these areas can lead to diminished institutional loyalty—especially if this cohort of mid-managers does not fulfill its dreams of mobility.
- The career mobility of mid-managers dictates some of the mobility of younger practitioners in (and out of) the field. Many mid-managers might keep their present jobs until the late 1990s when Sagaria (1986) predicted that older student affairs workers will retire *en masse*. Trends also suggest that many workers will postpone retirement and many retirees will reenter the work force during the 1990s (Harris, 1989). If mid-managers choose to hang on, the youthful energy of the field could disappear. This seems unlikely, however, given shifts of student demographics, retirement buyouts, and other trends that will affect the career longevity of mid-managers. Longevity will affect the promotion of women and minorities in our field and, thus, in higher education. The hiring of diverse professionals has been led by such areas as student affairs work. Although

> some administrators perceive our work as a "soft" area of the institution and therefore ripe for affirmative action appointments, such perceptions must not deter the development of diverse student affairs leaders from within the field. Women and minorities must be promoted through the ranks, or else the field will be vulnerable to amateur leadership at its highest levels. The professional status of the entire field will suffer if underprepared administrators are promoted to senior positions because we did not provide enough opportunities for all of our professionals to advance.

Conclusion

Mid-management in student affairs is not just the land of lords, squires, yeomen, or even of Rodney Dangerfields. It is the terrain of men and women who are often in the middle stage, middle age of their lives and careers. They are looking forward and back, reflecting and acting on their personal and professional choices. Whether they look forward or back happily or with regrets, we must acknowledge their importance to our institutions and our profession. We must study their interests and responsibilities more adequately than we have done before and we must advance their development. We must make them visible and we must capitalize on their leadership.

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